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University of Alberta

The Classification and Character of Chinese Christianity

by

Albert Y.S. Chu

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of **Master of Arts**.

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1995

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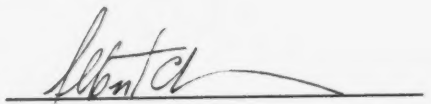

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June 29, 1995

Abstract

Developments within church-sect theory are proceeding towards the use of one attribute, either societal tension or the mode of membership, upon which to structure a scale of differentiation in classifying religious associations. Current developments, however, have excluded ethnicity within theoretical discussions of church-sect theory. This examination of ethnic religious organizations, particularly Chinese ones, advocates the use of tension as the attribute that best serves as a basis of comparing religious groups. The future utilization of tension, however, must factor in the implications of ethnicity. Without incorporating the issue of ethnicity into church-sect theory, researchers may define incorrectly ethnic religious organizations as sectarian, regardless of the doctrinal and societal beliefs of the organizations or their members. This study also provides an historical review and describes the current character of Chinese Christianity in Canada.

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Chapter One
Overview of Study

1.1. Introduction

In order to organize and compare information about diverse religious practices, "sociologists have sought to categorize different types of religious activity according to the dominant form of communal organization within which the activities occur" (Dawson, 1992:6). This manner of categorization, known as the church-sect typology, remains the principal approach in the classification of religious organizations. Developments within church-sect theory are proceeding towards the use of one criterion or attribute in classifying church or sect-like behaviour. When constructing, however, a scale to distinguish churches from sects, researchers seem divided between utilizing the attributes, "societal tension" and the "mode of membership," as the key distinguishing variable (Dawson, 1992:23). One purpose of this study is to demonstrate that tension, particularly tension with the surrounding society, is a more appropriate attribute for the differentiation of religious groups, particularly ethnic ones.

Current developments have excluded ethnicity within theoretical discussions of church-sect theory. Despite the increasing number of ethnic religious organizations in North America, academics largely have neglected to classify and trace the evolution of these associations. A second purpose of this study is also to locate ethnic organizations, particularly Chinese Christian bodies, along the church-sect continuum. The programs and associations that ethnic religious bodies provide

for immigrants reflect their type of religious organization. The more an organization embraces and aspires to share the values of mainstream society, the less tension it experiences, and the more church-like it is. The more an organization preserves and prefers to maintain its own ethnic identity, the more sect-like it is. By using the role that ethnic organizations exhibit in the assimilation of immigrants as a measure of sectarianism, this study offers insights and adjustments to church-sect theory while at the same time locating Chinese religious organizations within that theoretical framework.

1.2. Church and Sect Typology

Church-sect theory remains as the classic and central approach to the sociological study of religious groups and organizations. It continues to serve as a functional, yet unrefined, classification device. The initial distinction between church and sect dates back to Max Weber's formulations in 1904 - 1905.[1] Weber's original division, however, is best known through the work of his contemporary, Ernst Troeltsch. As devised by Troeltsch in 1911, the church-sect dichotomy embodies the following characteristics.

Churches are organizations that endeavour to provide a universal religion open to all people. Church affiliation is inclusive and heterogenous, accessible to all individuals who aspire to join. Often, membership is involuntary, primarily consisting of members who are born and baptized into the church as infants. The church is well accommodated to the secular world (Troeltsch, 1911:331). In other

words, it is aligned with the dominant social community.

Traditionally, a sect is distinguished as being an exclusive religious body. Exclusive membership supports a sect in preserving its unique teaching, special status, and the strict loyalty of members. After individuals fulfil the particular requirements of affiliation, the sect's primary emphasis is the satisfaction of their various basic needs through religious means. In comparison with a church, sect membership tends to be more homogeneous, attracting individuals from marginalized elements of society. "[Sects'] attitude of the world, the state, and society may be indifferent, tolerant, or hostile, since they have no desire to control and incorporate these forms of social life; on the contrary, they tend to avoid them" (Troeltsch, 1911:331). Sects address themselves to the interests of those segments of society that fail to be integrated into the social structure.

1.2.1. Recent Developments of the Typology

Since Troeltsch introduced his original dichotomy, sociologists concerned with the categorization and examination of religious organizations have attempted to develop and enhance the church-sect typology. For instance, the difficulty of applying the typology to American religious organizations inspired theologian Richard Niebuhr (1929) to introduce a new grouping labelled "denomination." A denomination is characterized by accommodation to society comparable to that of the church but lacking the ability or intention to dominate society (McGuire, 1987:117). Likewise, Howard Becker (1932) described a "cult" as a loose

association of persons with an esoteric, eclectic religiosity (McGuire, 1987:117). Other sociologists such as Milton Yinger (1970), Bryan Wilson (1959), and Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge (1979) have made additional developments to the church-sect typology.

Recently, social researchers have favoured a unidimensional approach over a multidimensional approach in classifying religious organizations and practices (Dawson, 1992:22). Instead of utilizing a number of attributes to appraise church or sect-like behaviour, social scientists encourage the use of one single attribute. Moreover, they favour the use of a single axis of variation or continuum (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985:23). According to Dawson (1992:22), who provided a revised understanding of church and sect, the unidimensional approach on a single continuum better accommodates the developmental aspect of all church-sect typologizing and better facilitates comparative analysis. The effectiveness of this approach, however, depends on using the attribute which best serves as a basis for comparison.

One attribute upon which to structure a scale of differentiation is Max Weber's original emphasis. For Weber, the mode of membership was the most significant characteristic distinguishing church and sect (Weber, 1922:56). Weber's original stress on the mode of membership, the universalistic-particularistic continuum, provides a simple measure of classifying religious groups. Sects are particularistic about membership; churches are universalistic.

The second attribute upon which to compare religious groups is the tension

experienced between society and the religious organization in question. Following the lead of Benton Johnson (1963), Stark and Bainbridge (1979) created a unidimensional religious organization "continuum which is anchored at one end by an ideal sect in such a high state of tension with its socio-cultural environment that its members are 'hunted fugitives,' and anchored at the other end by an ideal church which 'virtually is the socio-cultural environment'" (Dawson, 1992:23). In essence, Dawson concludes that the greater the tension experienced by a group to mainstream culture, the more the group is sectarian.

1.3. Ethnic Religious Organizations

Most of the efforts to consolidate the church-sect typology have neglected other types of religious organizations in North America. Academic research has particularly ignored the abundant number of ethnic or minority religious organizations among immigrant groups in the United States and Canada. Thus, researchers must inquire into the broader theoretical context of perspectives connecting religion and ethnicity.

1.3.1. Religion and Ethnicity

Most sociological perspectives dealing with the relationship between religion and ethnicity present two fundamental interpretations. First, immigrant ethnic groups frequently use religious affiliation as a manner to achieve integration. In his historic study of European Catholics in New York, J.P. Dolan (1975) documented

that ethnic parishes help immigrants integrate into American society. Likewise, in a case study of religious organizations in Gary, Indiana, Mohl and Betten (1981:3) concluded that immigrant religious organizations "were dynamic and changing institutions, taking on new functions and thus easing the process of immigrant adjustment."

Supposedly, ethnic religious organizations provide social networks through which immigrants acquire jobs, English language training, contact with Canadian religious brethren, and information about Canadian norms, customs, and governmental requirements (Lewis, 1988; Palinkas, 1984). The religious organization, therefore, may reduce the anxiety associated with confronting a new environment, and aid in the acquisition of new socialization opportunities and skills. Ethnic religious associations often serve as transitional organizations that assist immigrants with coping during a period of cultural acculturation.

A second perspective surmises that ethnic groups use religious institutions in their struggle to maintain their culture and identity. Instead of helping immigrants integrate into the host society, minority religious organizations may nourish ethnic solidarity and segregation (Lewins, 1976; Millet, 1979; Hurh and Kim, 1990). This position emphasizes the conservative role of religion in maintaining a community in which members share the same language, customs, and similar migration experiences. This perspective conjures up the concept of religion as proposed by Emile Durkheim in 1912. Durkheim asserted that religion is a system of common beliefs and rituals that bind people together and provide the

social context for the transmission of tradition.

1.3.1.1. Chinese Churches and Adaptation

Whereas the body of past research deals predominantly with West-European immigrants in America and their religious associations, dissimilar findings exist in studies pertaining to Asian immigrants and their ethnic organizations. It is unclear whether Chinese religious bodies facilitate or obstruct adaptation into Canada.

A Canadian study conducted of Southeast Asian immigrant Christians found that Filipino, Indonesian, and Malaysian-Singaporean individuals utilized Christianity in an attempt to achieve greater acceptability by the host society. In this study, however, Judith Nagata (1987) concludes that being Christian does not significantly encourage sustained social interaction among different Christian ethnic segments. In a study of Korean immigrants, Hurh and Kim (1990) likewise document that while Korean religious organizations provide immigrants with a sense of belonging and comfort, they do not assist the assimilation of immigrants into American culture. Instead, ethnic religious organizations may increase the level of ethnic solidarity.

Other studies demonstrate the usefulness of ethnic religious organizations in the integration of refugees:

> For many refugees, Christian ethnic churches act as a bridge between traditional values and practices and Western values and practices. Religion appears to be a major mediating institution to assist refugees with their social and economic adjustment to their new environs. It provides assistance, through sponsorship programs, with

> the transition to the new country, as well as support in achieving a bicultural identity (Lewis, 1988:282).

In the scarce literature that deals specifically with Chinese associations, Palinkas (1984) concludes that Chinese Christian organizations help the Chinese community integrate into the larger society and are essential in reducing the high levels of stress and anxiety of immigrants. Palinkas' study, however, also is American.

1.4. Church-Sect and Ethnicity

As mentioned earlier, for the most part, academics have failed to incorporate ethnicity into church-sect theoretical discussions. Perceiving the need to incorporate ethnic religious organizations into the church-sect framework, David Millet (1979) defined a "minority church" as religious congregations that provide services in non-official languages. Millet originally used the concept of a minority church to explain the behaviour of religious bodies whose members, because of some sort of persecution, might be expected to adopt a defensive attitude, spurn the world, and become a sect, but who instead continue to act as a church.

1.4.1. Minority Church

French theologian Roger Mehl (1965) first formulated the concept of the minority church. He recognized that minority churches lack the same privileges and social positions of the dominant groups and are thus under constant pressure to become sects. Many of these religious bodies, however, continue to act as a church.

Mehl explained that church-like behaviour among French Protestants was due to their relationship with a variety of reference groups "which relativize(d) their marginal status in society" (Mullins, 1989:2).

In Canada, Millet affirmed that similar behaviour may be found among non-English or non-French speaking parishes and congregations sponsored by large churches. "Such groups generally avoid either an extreme retreat from the world attitude of introversionist sects, or the aggressive efforts to change the world approach of conversionist sects" (Millet, 1979:184). Ethnic religious organizations sponsored by large Canadian denominations thus accommodate rather easily to their society. Their sense of strength and security comes ultimately from their awareness of the strength of their sponsors (Millet, 1979:184). They know that they are associated, however indirectly, with some of the most powerful institutions of the dominant groups in Canadian society.

In contrast, non-sponsored ethnic religious groups do not accommodate easily to society, but serve instead as strong forces for linguistic and other aspects of ethnic survival. The members of these bodies do not draw their sense of security from a sponsoring body, but do so from the very size of their organizations (Millet, 1979:184).

Contrary to a minority church, an ethnic religious organization provides not only services in non-official languages, but also consists predominantly of individuals from the same ethnic group. Marshal Sklare (1957:460) defined an "ethnic church" as "a fellowship whose members are differentiated from those belonging to other

denominations by virtue of their special descent as well as by their doctrines or practices." 'Ethnicity' should not be mistaken as 'race,' since ambiguities regarding the usage of these terms exist. Race refers to a body of individuals from the same ancestry, and racial differences pertain to distinctions among inherited physical characteristics. Social relations construct ethnic groups, not phenotypical differences. Ethnicity incorporates shared identities based on descent, language, religion, tradition, and other common experiences.

1.4.2. Organizational Accommodation

Furthermore, academic literature surmises that ethnic religious bodies often undergo organizational accommodation towards the religious tradition of the host society. As ethnic religious bodies help immigrants become assimilated into the dominant culture, they experience an organizational transformation towards increasing church-like behaviour. "As the second and third generations are raised in the new environment, the language and the culture of the old world becomes increasingly unfamiliar and foreign" (Mullins, 1989:5). The process of assimilation eventually forces the ethnic religious organization to choose between accommodation and extinction (Niebuhr, 1929:). Over time, ethnic identity may decline with each succeeding generation, forcing ethnic religious organizations to conform to the dominant religious tradition.

Mark Mullins (1989) incorporated the concept of a minority church towards the study of Japanese religious organizations in Canada. His findings describe an

assimilation process of minority churches through a life cycle of several stages. Mullins characterizes the third and final stage as the disappearance of the immigrant generation and a transformation into a multi-ethnic organization.

Theodore Saloutos (1973) found that, if it is to survive, then the Greek Orthodox had no alternative other than to move towards assimilation. Due to the irresistible pull of the American environment and differences from within the church, the Greek church ceased the futility of earlier efforts to preserve its national identity. Ethnic religious bodies appear to be heading towards organizational dissolution or transformation into a multi-ethnic association. Harold Coward (1978:171) pessimistically asserts that ethnic minorities "are in danger of vanishing, of being either absorbed by the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture or wiped out by the conformity induced by the twentieth century technological society."

1.5. Typological Framework

1.5.1. Research Objectives

Milton Yinger (1970:311) wrote that "we have observed that persons of dispriviledged status exhibit strategies of acceptance, avoidance, and aggression in their effort to deal with the world around them. Nowhere are the different strategies more clearly apparent than in their various religious expressions." A variety of such strategies for survival are evident among different ethnic religious groups. A number of organizations actively aim at adaptation, whereas a number

actively oppose adaptation.

Assistance that ethnic religious organizations provide for immigrants reflects both their strategies for subsistence and their type of religious orientation. In this study, sectarianism is the capacity in which ethnic organizations help immigrants adapt to Canadian society. By analyzing the specific programs and associations that these organizations provide for newcomers, this study will enable the classification of ethnic religious groups.

My basic assumption is that the more a group embraces the values of the majority and the more it aspires to share these values, the less tension it experiences and the more church-like it is. According to prevailing definitions such as Stark and Bainbridge's (1979), a church is a religious group that more or less accepts the social environment in which it exists. Ethnic religious organizations that provide English language classes, contact with Canadian brethren, and other integrative programs are rejecting their ethnic exclusiveness and are thus church-like.

Conversely, ethnic religious organizations that endeavour to maintain exclusiveness by rejecting the dominant culture are likely more sect-like. A sect is a religious group that more or less rejects the social environment in which it exists. Sectarian descriptive traits include exclusive membership, non-cooperation with other religious groups, avoidance of society, and select evangelism. The unwillingness to accept languages and persons not belonging to the ethnic group is an important indicator of sect-like behaviour. Ethnic religious organizations

operating in non-official languages constitute a strong force for ethnic persistence. They constantly attract newcomers who are not at ease within Canadian society. These newcomers reinforce the use of the ethnic language and culture in the community where the minority church exists. Sectarian ethnic organizations likely make special educational arrangements designed to teach its youth the language of the homeland.

1.5.2. The Churches Under Investigation

Under consideration in this study are two dissimilar religious bodies, a mainstream Chinese United Church organization and a non-denominational Fundamentalist Chinese organization. Both organizations consist predominantly of Chinese persons who identify themselves as such and who are able to understand coherently a Chinese dialect. The Sunday worship services and programs are primarily in Chinese.

1.5.2.1. Edmonton Chinese United Church

The United Church of Canada is a mainstream religious denomination. It formed on June 10, 1925 through the union of the Methodist Church of Canada, the Congregational Union of Canada, the Council of Local Union Churches, and seventy percent of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Currently, it is the largest Protestant group in Canada consisting of 4,019 churches with an estimated membership of 1,984,307 individuals in 1992 (Bedell, 1994:252). Canadian owned

and operated, the United Church denomination is "as Canadian as hockey."[2]

The Edmonton Chinese United Church officially formed on November 20, 1932, at their present address in the heart of Chinatown. The Chinese United Church has a current membership of 102 members with approximately 89-90 individuals attending the Sunday service. The Church determines membership through standard United Church of Canada procedures that include both baptism and attendance requirements.

I hypothesize that the Edmonton Chinese United Church exhibits church-like characteristics. Since the United Church of Canada, which is an indigenous denomination, sponsors the Chinese United Church, the Chinese Church will most likely conform to the language and practices of the host society. According to Millet (1979), the Chinese United Church should accommodate rather easily to Canadian society since a large denomination sponsors it. The Chinese United Church's sense of strength and security comes from its awareness of the strength of the United Church of Canada denomination. It is associated with a powerful institution in Canadian society.

In addition, the Edmonton Chinese United Church slowly may be undergoing organizational accommodation since it is well over 60 years old. Its age suggests that it is catering more to second or third generation Chinese. In essence, membership in the Chinese United Church would tend to be less conservative and more willing to adapt to the policies and conventions of both the United Church of Canada denomination and Canadian culture.

1.5.2.2. Edmonton Chinese Christian Church

The second subject of this investigation is the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church, located in the central Southeast section of the city, far removed from Chinatown. It is the second largest Chinese church in Edmonton, composed of approximately 320 Cantonese-speaking adults and 35 or so Mandarin-speaking adults. The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church is a non-denominational Protestant church with doctrines, rituals, and practices that are Baptist in orientation. Since this church splintered from the Edmonton Chinese Alliance Church in 1983, it is relatively new.

I hypothesize that the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church exhibits sect-like behaviour. According to Millet (1979), religious groups not sponsored by indigenous churches, such as the Edmonton Chinese Christian, may feel somewhat insecure. The non-denominational Chinese Christian Church, which has a schismatic background, is more likely than its Chinese United Church counterpart to exert greater effort towards maintaining the Chinese language and culture. The pressure of ethnic preservation drives members to form their own encapsulated, idiosyncratic ethnic congregations where the ethnic component overrides the principle of religious unity (Nagata 1986:3). It may encourage Chinese language schools and exclusive Chinese membership, both of which indicate a renunciation of the dominant social-cultural environment. This organization may be a strong force for linguistic and cultural ethnic survival.

Millet (1979) also states that members of sectarian ethnic movements draw

their sense of security from the very size of their organization. With somewhat near 350 members, the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church has the kind of large membership that Millet sees as contributing to sectarian ethnic security. In addition, the Edmonton Chinese Church is relatively new. Its age suggests that it is catering more to the first generation. It is unlikely experiencing pressure to accommodate to the customs of mainstream Christian associations.

1.5.3. Historical Evidence

I gained historical information about the Chinese population and Chinese Christianity in Canada through government census materials, historical texts, and publications from Chinese religious organizations. The historical review of Chinese Christianity in Canada and the development of the two religious organizations under investigation is paramount to this study.

Firstly, the historical examination of the Chinese in Canada and Alberta provides background information about the study population. Both of the religious organizations under review have local and national predecessors that date back decades, and these ancestors help to explain aspects of this society's attitudes towards these groups.

Second, an examination of the development and history of ethnic religious associations enhances an understanding of contemporary debates over organizational accommodation. The historical analysis of Chinese Christianity in Canada not only helps in determining whether Chinese religious organizations

experience pressure to accommodate to mainstream society, but also it facilitates a clearer understanding of the past functions and the social positions held by Chinese religious organizations.

Third and finally, the examination of the development of Chinese Christianity in Canada assists in gauging the present role that Chinese religious institutions provide for Chinese individuals. Comparisons between the historical and present roles of Chinese religious organizations aid in describing the present character of Chinese Christianity. Consequently, the characterization of Chinese Christianity in an historical context will assist in the categorization of such ethnic religious groups in reference to contemporary church and sect theory.

1.6. Organization of the Thesis

While the second chapter briefly describes the methodology of the study, the third chapter describes the historical and social setting of Chinese Christianity in Canada. The fourth and fifth chapters examine the congregations and programs of these two institutions in an effort to determine the roles that the Churches play in the adaptation experience of immigrants. The sixth chapter discusses the similarities and differences between the two Churches in an attempt to comprehend the character of Canadian Chinese Christianity.

Through analyses of the two Churches, a classification of them will unfold in the context of the church-sect typology. The classification of these Chinese Christian groups will enable a clearer understanding of the association between

ethnic religious organizations and church-sect theory. Subsequently, this study will provide insights and modifications to the typology.

Chapter Two
Data Collection

2.1. Sample

This study examined Chinese Christian religious organizations because of the increasing number and growing influence of both Chinese individuals and religious associations. In addition, little academic work exists connecting Asian ethnic religious organizations and church sect theory. Consequently, I conducted a self-administered questionnaire survey between March and April, 1995 in Edmonton. The sample population consisted of first generation Chinese immigrants mainly from Hong Kong and China who attend one of the Chinese Christian religious organization.

This study choose to examine the Edmonton Chinese United Church and the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church because of the characteristics that they displayed at first glance. Among Chinese Christian religious organizations in Edmonton, the two organizations under investigation are as dissimilar to each other as any two Chinese organizations can be. The Edmonton United Church seemed to exhibit church-like attributes while the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church seemed to demonstrate sect-like characteristics. The Chinese United Church maintains sponsorship from a large Canadian denomination, is the oldest existing Chinese Christian association in Edmonton, and is comprised of a small number of individuals. The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church has no sponsorship, is one of the newest Chinese Christian organizations in Edmonton, and supports one of

the largest Chinese congregations in Edmonton. The comparison of the functions and features that the two dissimilar Chinese Christian organizations exhibit allows this study to provide a clearer understanding of the character of Chinese Christianity. In addition, the study of a religious organization that appears to be a sect and one that initially appears to be a church allows opportunities to test the church-sect typology in reference to ethnic groups.

I collected respondents through a non-probabilistic purposive sample at the two organizations under investigation. The sample population consisted of forty Chinese immigrants that had immigrated to Alberta within the past ten years. The control for duration since arrival was an important precaution because immigrants are different according to the dates of their Canadian arrival. An immigrant who recently has arrived in Canada is different from an immigrant who has been in Canada for a lengthy period of time. All respondents were over sixteen years old in order to ensure that the were sufficiently mature to experience the tension associated with immigration.

2.2. Questionnaire

I utilized a questionnaire to collect information from individual members of the two organizations under investigation. Through direct contact and direct data collection methods, respondents completed a structured questionnaire (written in English and Chinese) consisting of a combination of open-ended and close-ended structured responses [see Appendix A]. A written questionnaire was most

appropriate in order to limit the problems with the different spoken Chinese dialects since Chinese characters have universal meaning.

The questionnaire obtained brief demographic data on the immigrant members of the two organizations. Furthermore, it discovered whether immigrant respondents attend for either religious, emotional, or social motivations. The questionnaire also learned which programs and associations were effective, and it provided information regarding the role that the organizations played in assisting the adaptation of respondents. The programs and associations that ethnic religious bodies provide for immigrants (fellowships, language classes, contact with non-Chinese individuals) reflect whether they display church or sect-like behavior. Without concentrating on the role that ethnic religious bodies provide for immigrants, the classification of these groups based on the mode and make-up of membership likely would be inaccurate.

2.3. Interviews

I obtained information regarding the organizations via interviews with the pastoral staff and members of the officiating administration boards. In each congregation, I became personally acquainted with both members and pastors, often attending a variety of activities and programs. I selected the interviewed individuals based on their influential position and their ease with the English language.

The interviews served as the major source in providing comparisons between the two organizations. Through the interviews, I determined the specific programs

and associations that the organizations provide towards the adaptation of immigrants into Canadian society, and ascertained possible policies regarding recent arrivals. I also asked the persons whom I interviewed to describe their interaction with other religious bodies and their interaction, if any, with the other organization in this study. Furthermore, I gained information regarding the history of the organization, the character of pastoral leadership, second-generation membership, evangelism objectives, and Chinese cultural events held at the organization.

Chapter Three
The Chinese in Canada

The study of Chinese Canadian religious organizations requires an understanding of the socio-cultural changes within the larger Chinese Canadian community. Furthermore, an historical examination of the Chinese in Canada and Edmonton provides background information about the study population. To provide the necessary context, the following chapter sketches briefly the history of the Chinese in Canada.

3.1. Chinese Migration To Canada

In their history of almost a hundred and fifty years in Canada, individuals of Chinese origin have experienced a diversity of change. This change is reflected best by the shifts in immigration policy of the Canadian government towards Chinese individuals. On this basis, the Chinese Canadian experience divides into six thematic periods.

3.1.1. Period of Arrival (1858-1880)

The Chinese first migrated to Canada in the middle of the 18th century in search of gold and fortune. The first group of Chinese in Canada arrived in Victoria on June 28, 1858 (Con et al., 1982:13). The gold rush in the Fraser Valley and the Cariboo region of British Columbia lured many Chinese prospectors from southeast China and California. The majority of early Chinese migrants to Canada

were peasants from a small region of the Guangdong province in southern China. Chinese gold miners were largely unsuccessful, due mainly to their work in deserted gold mines and constant robbery by whites (Hoe, 1976:38).

The appearance of the Chinese resulted in forms of racial discrimination throughout all of Canada. For example, all Canadian newspapers editorially opposed the Chinese presence. "The media portrayed the early Chinese as immoral heathens, opium smokers, thieves, gamblers, filthy, stupid and insensitive, and dealing with them was thought to invite evil results" (Baureiss, 1987:23). Early Chinese immigrants experienced racial prejudice from the white majority who often spoke of the 'oriental problem' or used crude appellations such as the 'yellow peril,' 'chink,' or 'pigtails.' Despite hostility and discrimination, the Chinese kept coming is search of work. The Canadian Census of 1880-1881 recorded a total of 4,383 Chinese, with 4,350 in British Columbia alone (Hoe, 1976:40).

3.1.2. Period of the Canadian Railway (1880-1885)

The Chinese played a significant role in the early development of Canada, particularly in the construction of the trans-continental railway. Between 1880 and 1881, over 16,000 Chinese males arrived into Canada to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia. Charles Crocker, a contractor of the Central Pacific Railway, once justified the hiring of the Chinese by noting that any race who could build the Great Wall of China also could construct a railway (Hoe, 1989:9). Hence, often the Chinese were mistreated in the construction of the railway and

given low wages. Many died in building the tunnels through the Canadian rockies while others died from diseases, especially scurvy, in the wilderness. One Chinese male is buried for every single mile of the railway (Ma, 1979:13). Without the cheap labour provided by the Chinese, the Railway would not have been completed on schedule. Chinese participation in the final stage of the railway along the western region of Canada was crucial in the development of Canada as a nation.

After the completion of the railway, there was no attempt either to assure the Chinese workers' return to China or to assimilate them. Instead of showing concern for them, the Canadian government imposed head taxes, license fees, and other measures to deter them from work. "The irony of the situation for the early migrants is that, despite their undeniably crucial roles in building the economy of western Canada, they were subject to prejudice and discrimination by the white majority" (Johnson, 1989:327).

3.1.3. Period of Discrimination (1885 - 1923)

After the completion of the railway in 1885, numerous petitions from provincial legislatures, labour unions, and the white community besieged parliament in calling for the prohibition of Chinese immigration (Hoe, 1976:43). The Chinese were the only ethnic group subjected to restrictive legislations rather than regulations. Between 1885 to 1923, both federal and provincial governments levied a series of discriminatory taxes on Chinese individuals. The taxes collected by the governments from the Chinese were greater than those collected from any other

ethnic group. The Chinese were forced to pay property tax, business tax, income tax, and even a head tax.

The head tax was a form of tax imposed only on the Chinese. In 1885, the British Columbia provincial government passed a law imposing a ten dollar yearly head tax on every Chinese. By 1904, the head tax imposed on Chinese immigrants was raised to five hundred dollars (Ma, 1979:15).

All three levels of government fixed an assorted number of legislation against the Chinese. For example, the Chinese were excluded from licensed professions by virtue of being prohibited the right to vote. Thus, they were excluded from any work other than labouring jobs--laundering, mining, lumbering, and fishing. Another act prohibited Chinese owners of businesses from hiring white females. The Coal Mine Regulation Amendment Act of 1890 and the Liquor License Amendment Act of 1899 were calculated specifically to exclude the Chinese (Hoe, 1976:269). In addition, many schools in British Columbia segregated their Chinese students from white students. In 1909, an unusual "British Columbia law required every immigrant, when ordered, to write an application to the provincial secretary in some European language. Writing unsatisfactorily or failing to comply resulted in a $500 fine, a year's imprisonment, or deportation" (Hoe, 1976:269).

Clearly, a complexity of reasons existed behind anti-Chinese activities. One was outright racism -- the supposed superiority of White individuals over "mongol" non-Whites. Another was the fact that many groups benefited from an anti-Chinese sentiment. Labour unions and political parties were strengthened and unified in

preventing the infiltration of the Chinese into the workplace. Union members allied themselves with racist organizations such as the White Canada Association and the Asiatic Exclusion League. The Chinese were excluded simply to the groups that benefitted from the exclusion.

With a recession of sorts during this period, Chinese workers threatened the jobs of white labourers, and whites held them accountable for their unemployment. Competition between white and Chinese labourers became frequent, often leading to conflict and riots. Consequently, stereotyped occupations of Chinese immigrants were not culturally driven, but instead were economically forced (Li and Bolaria, 1988). Because of economic discrimination, they only could engage in occupations and services that did not pose a threat to the larger economic order. Thus, a large amount of early Chinese immigrants were involved in service orientated occupations such as work and ownership of laundries and restaurants.

Despite the unfavourable social attitude toward them, the Chinese kept coming in search of work. The Canadian Census of 1891 and that of 1901 revealed totals of 9,129 and 17,312 Chinese respectively (Hoe, 1976:47).

3.1.4. Period of Isolation (1923-1947)

The Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 prohibited all new immigrants and encouraged individuals to return to China. Under this act, only sixteen Chinese entered Canada between 1925-1946 (Baureiss, 1987:19).

Immigration, or in this case the blockage of it, had ramifications for the

Chinese community. For example, the family structure of Chinese Canadians demonstrated the disastrous effect of the immigration restrictions. Canadian law severely constrained the kinds of family structures that could emerge. In 1941, a great disparity existed in the sex ratio within the Chinese community. There were only 3,914 Chinese females in Canada, as opposed to 30,713 males (Census of Canada, 1941). Not surprisingly, Chinese communities were in decline after 1923, composed mainly of an aging generation of single men.

The end of World War Two positively affected the attitude of Canadians towards the Chinese. China fought side by side with Canada as an ally. A number of factors contributed to a change in the immigration policy, including Canada's involvement in the Intergovernmental Committee of Refugees, the economic conditions after the war, the shortages of labour in Canada, and Canada's involvement in international affairs (D'costa, 1989:49). The Federal government of Canada repealed the Chinese Immigration Law of 1923 on May 14, 1947.

3.1.5. Period of Relaxation (1947-1967)

The change in public opinion from antagonism to toleration immediately after World War II gave new life to these long isolated Chinese communities. The period between 1947 and 1967 saw a relaxation of Chinese immigration restrictions. The discriminatory clauses and regulations, however, were not abolished completely. Only close relatives of Chinese individuals in Canada were able to enter.

The majority of male Chinese immigrants, however, could not afford to bring

their wives from overseas, and therefore maintained their families in their Chinese homeland. For much of Chinese Canadian history, it simply was impossible for most Chinese Canadians to form extended families in Canada. The population breakdown of the Chinese in Canada between 1881 and 1971 is shown in table 1.

Table 1.

The Distribution of the Chinese Population in Canada by Province, 1881-1971

PROVINCES	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
British Columbia	4,350	14,855	19,568	23,533	27,139	18,619	15,933	24,227	44,315
Alberta	-	235	1,787	3,581	3,875	3,122	3,451	6,937	12,905
Saskatchewan	-	41	957	2,667	3,501	2,545	2,144	3,660	4,605
Manitoba	4	206	855	1,331	1,732	1,248	1,175	1,936	3,430
Ontario	22	732	2,766	5,625	6,919	6,143	6,997	15,155	39,325
Quebec	7	1,037	1,578	2,335	2,750	2,378	1,904	4,794	11,905
New Brunswick	-	59	93	185	231	152	146	274	575
Nova Scotia	-	106	134	315	340	372	516	637	935
Prince Edward Is.	-	4	6	14	31	45	35	43	25
Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	-	-	186	445	610
Territories	-	7	-	1	1	-	37	100	85
TOTAL	4,383	17,312	27,774	39,587	46,519	34,627	32,528	58,197	118,815

Source: The Census of Canada, 1881-1971 from Hoe, 1976:66.

3.1.6. Period of Equality (1967 -)

For the first time in 1967, the Government of Canada introduced regulations that formally abolished all types of discrimination with respect to immigration. The Act emphasized the economic aspects of immigration and the need for educated and entrepreneurial immigrants. With these changes, Canada's door opened wide to immigrants from all countries.

In 1971, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau inaugurated multiculturalism by stating that the policy "should help break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies . . . the government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society."[3] Multiculturalism is a political doctrine that officially promotes cultural differences as an intrinsic component of the social, political, and moral order. Government policies emphasizing multiculturalism have played a vital role in the acceptance of visible minorities such as the Chinese in Canadian society. Individuals of Chinese origin have been a part of Canada's mosaic for longer than Canada has been a modern political entity. One hundred years after Confederation, Canadian immigration policy has changed from one of blatant discrimination to a policy that guarantees legislative equality to all immigrants.

Historically, Chinese immigrants were impoverished peasants from the Canton delta of China. Chinese newcomers after 1967 were no longer poor rice cultivators with few skills and virtually no command of English or French. Many Chinese immigrants now experience little difficulty adapting to Canadian society

since many come from Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan. Many of these individuals have an adequate command of the English language, and many also have had professional training. A large number of 'entrepreneurial' business people are immigrating that invest large sums of capital into the business world of Canada. In addition, Canada accommodates a large contingent of Chinese individuals holding student visas, as approximately 49,000 foreign students arrived from Asia in 1991 (Canadian Yearbook, 1994:164). In 1991, a total of 119, 955 immigrants came from Asia (Immigration Canada, 1991).

The most dominant group of Chinese immigrants come from the urban British Colony of Hong Kong. In the summer of 1967, Hong Kong felt the effects of the Great Proletariate Cultural Revolution in China, which included bombs, strikes, and martial law. Riots motivated many Hong Kong residents to move overseas to Canada. The current exodus of Hong Kong residents is attributable to the rapidly approaching 1997 return of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China (PRC). As the 1997 date approaches for the PRC's resumption of sovereignty over the British colony of Hong Kong, Hong Kong residents are migrating into Canada in increasing numbers. In 1991, 22,340 individuals from Hong Kong arrived into Canada (Immigration Canada, 1991). Furthermore, numerous other Chinese individuals are arriving from the PRC, Taiwan, Vietnam, and elsewhere along the Southeast Asian rim. In 1991, 13,915 individuals from Mainland China and 4,488 from Taiwan immigrated to Canada (Immigration Canada, 1991).

Indeed, the Chinese population is a rapid-growing segment of Canadian society. In 1971, the number of Chinese individuals in Canada reached 118,815 (Census of Canada, 1971). Currently, the Chinese population is over 620,000 individuals.[4] This number represents approximately a 420 percent increase of Chinese persons between 1971 and 1991 in Canada. According to the 1991 census, individuals of Chinese ethnic origin are the fourth largest minority group in Canada after the French, Germans, and Italians (Fang, 1994:36).

3.2. Chinese Migration to Alberta

After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Chinese began to make their way east to other parts of Canada in search of a living. A number arrived in Alberta to work as ranch cooks, kitchen help, or to open cafes and laundries (Hoe, 1976:66). Nevertheless, these Chinese were affected by the anti-Oriental movement in the United States and British Columbia. For example, a Calgary Herald editorial on September 24, 1884 stated that "we do not want Chinamen in Canada. It is desirable that this country shall not be peopled by any servile race . . . the million who will soon people the great Prairie of the West shall be children of the Indo-Germanic parents . . . not the degenerate children of the mongols" (quoted in Hoe, 1976:67).

In the provincial district of Alberta, only 31 Chinese individuals were listed in 1891 and 235 in 1901 (Hoe, 1976:69). Beginning in 1921, the Chinese population in Alberta remained stable for a period of time until the immigration boom in the

late 1960s (see table 1). Currently, the Chinese population in Alberta is approximately 72,000 (Statistics Canada, 1991). The majority of immigrants who have arrived recently into Alberta are from Southeast Asia. In 1992, eighteen percent of all immigrants to Alberta arrived from Hong Kong, nine percent (9%) from the Philippines, eight percent (8%) from Vietnam, and six percent (6%) from China (English Express, 1994:1).

3.2.1. Chinese Migration to Edmonton

The first Chinese immigrants to settle in Edmonton may have done so in 1892. By about 1910, a small Chinatown had been established on Rice Street (101 Avenue), between Fraser Street (98th Street) and Namayo street (97th Street), on the eastern fringe of downtown Edmonton. By 1911, the Chinese population had grown to 130 and this number increased to 500 in 1921 (Lai, 1988:92).

The prosperity of Edmonton's Chinese, however, did not last long due to the Immigration Act of 1923. The Chinese population in Edmonton declined steadily, from 467 in 1931 to 384 in 1941 (Lai, 1988:92). After the change of the immigration law in 1967, the number of Chinese began to grow again in Edmonton. The Chinese population in Edmonton reached 5,110 in 1971, 16,300 in 1981, and 24,560 in 1986 (Lai, 1988:116). Currently, the Chinese population in Edmonton is approaching 35,000 (Statistics Canada, 1991). The Chinese are the fourth largest minority group in Edmonton after the French, Germans, and Ukrainians (Fang, 1994:36).

3.3. Chinese Christianity in Canada

Historically, the Chinese have created a unique and curious religious culture. Traditional Chinese religion incorporates a synthesis of Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and folk religion. Oddly, none of these religious traditions has been prominent for Chinese individuals in the country. Traditional Chinese religious organizations have never been significant among immigrants to Canada. In 1947, only the first major settlement, Victoria, continued to support a separate Chinese temple (Con et al., 1982:236). Instead, Chinese Canadian religiosity has been predominantly Protestant in orientation.

When Chinese labourers crossed the Pacific Ocean to labour in the middle of the 19th century, missionaries were travelling in the opposite direction to take the gospel to China. After arriving, these pioneering missionaries experienced many difficulties. The Chinese were indifferent, if not antagonistic, to the foreign religion these missionaries preached. Upon their return to North America, the missionaries soon found that the Chinese immigrants were more accessible and receptive to their efforts than were mainland Chinese (Pang, 1985:19).

During the past one hundred years in Canada, the growth of Christianity among the Chinese has been stormy. The development of Chinese Christian organizations runs parallel to the general historical situation of the Chinese community in Canada. These organizations have undergone four distinct periods.

3.3.1. Period of Intolerance (1885 - 1923)

Because of racial hostility and political persecution, the Chinese withdrew from activities that discriminated against them and they looked inward to Chinatown for safety, comfort, and support. Anti-Chinese racism had appalling effects on the living and social conditions in 'chinatowns,' causing overcrowding, lack of garbage collection, and poor sewage disposal. For most white Canadians, Chinatown was a mysterious place. Apart from those whites who went there for nefarious purposes, the only white persons who regularly visited the Chinatowns were health and fire inspectors, police, and Christian missionaries (Tan, 1985:12). The first Christian organizations, devoted specifically to the Chinese, directed their efforts against the problems experienced by the Chinese community. Established in the final decades of the nineteenth century, these Christian missions provided sanctuary for women, material aid, health services, and English classes.

The Presbyterian and Methodist denominations performed most of the early mission work. In 1885, the Methodists found the first regularly-opened mission in Victoria, British Columbia. The Methodist denomination also introduced the first Christian Chinese church in 1891 (Con et al., 1982:122). Also in Victoria the following year, Presbyterians established the first Presbyterian Chinese Church (Mak, 1993:13). Shortly after, other Chinese churches began in Toronto, and Montreal. The United Church denomination was also among the few Chinese churches in the early stage. The first Chinese United Church began in 1917 in Winnipeg and the second commenced in 1918 in Toronto (Mak, 1993:13).

In the early 1900s, Christian missionaries continued to provide language

courses, dormitory facilities, and cultural centres for the Chinese community. The most popular education programs offered by the churches were the evening English classes, which attracted thousands of adult Chinese (Li, 1988:82).

Although these missions helped alleviate the affliction experienced by the Chinese, they had very few converts. These sparse numbers indicate that the early missionary work among the Chinese immigrants mostly was unsuccessful. Whereas the Chinese were attracted by the missionaries' concern and appreciated the medical, educational and social services offered by the missionaries, they largely rejected their religion. Several major reasons account for the lack of converted Chinese individuals. First, all the missionaries were Caucasian. In an American description, Wing Ning Pang (1985:21) stated that:

> In spite of their love and concern for the Chinese, [the missionaries] maintained an attitude of haughty superiority. Their evangelistic work and social services were undertaken with the expressed purpose of raising the heathen Chinese above his false gods and degenerated way of life. Secondly, the early missionary work developed during a period when public opinion of the Chinese was changing from a warm welcome to an attitude of discrimination and even outright persecution. Therefore, in spite of the heroic efforts of the missionaries, the actions of these Christian Anglo-Americans often sounded louder than the preaching of the missionaries. The atmosphere in America at this time made evangelism a difficult task.

The same ethnocentrism and racism of early Christians in America was echoed in Canada. "[W]hile working for the conversion and social betterment of the Chinese, the missionaries assumed a white Canada, one which could only be preserved by limiting the number of Chinese allowed into the country and by assimilating the relatively small number of Chinese who were already present" (Con et al.,

1982:124).

Most of the early mission reports:

> undoubtedly coloured by religious and moral beliefs, mention negative stereotypes of the Chinese. The churches emphasized that idolatry, superstition, spiritual indifference, and moral inadequacy were typical of the Chinese and they condemned them for overcrowding, living in unsanitary conditions, gambling, opium smoking and engaging in female slavery (Baureiss, 1987:24).

Chinese and white lay members of the same denominations seldom came in contact, and many self-proclaimed Christians were among the most active in calling for rigid regulations to keep Canada white. By 1923, only 10 percent of the Chinese claimed to be Christian (Tan, 1985:12).

Although missionaries had difficulty converting the Chinese to Christianity, some never doubted their ability to assimilate culturally (Baureiss, 1985:24). Reverend Dr. Oosterhout (1929:ix), who wrote about the work of the United Church of Canada with Asians in Canada, stated that "our brethren from across the Pacific Ocean are very human, have many admirable qualities, have deep spiritual needs and are capable of responding in an inspiring way to the Christian message when it is presented in a Christian way."

3.3.2. Period of Survival (1923-1947)

With the implementation of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 that restricted Chinese entry into Canada, the Chinese faced serious trials of survival. In most Canadian cities, there usually was (and still is) an umbrella organization

commonly known as the Chinese Benevolent Association. This community association regulated disputes and conflicts among the local Chinese and represented the Chinese community to the larger society (Hoe, 1989:16).

Another traditional way that the Chinese organize themselves internally is through clan associations. The members of such associations can trace their descent to one or several ancestors through the paternal line. They adhere to a clan genealogy and use legends, myths, stories, and historical accounts to determine the identity of their ancestors. (Hoe, 1989:19). These clan associations existed only for large family clans. Chinese individuals without clan associations often turned to the Christian missions for aid.

The growth of Chinese churches remained sluggish. The proportion of avowed Christians in the Chinese community rose slowly from sixteen percent (7,600 individuals) in 1931 to nearly thirty percent (10,000) a decade later. Between 1923 and 1947, the United Church easily was the leader throughout Canada with almost half the Chinese church members affiliated with it (Con et al., 1982:151).

Despite the lack of growth, the Chinese churches were important in the preservation of the Canadian Chinese community. By the 1930s, many churches comprised of Chinese ministers who were linguistically and culturally well-equipped to help both the China born and Canadian born members of their congregations. During this period, Chinese individuals who had recently graduated from mission schools in China began arriving in Canada to aid in missionary work among Chinese Canadians. Some of the Chinese who were converted in Canada became

missionaries themselves (Con et al., 1982:123). Both these groups of missionaries attempted to provide activities and accommodations that discouraged Chinese individuals from vices such as gambling and opium.

Chinese missionaries and church members played a significant role in community leadership. "Besides supplying social services, Chinese churches sometimes served as meeting places for discussions of community problems, involving government officials as well as community leaders and members" (Con et al., 1982:172). Chinese ministers and lay Christians often became civic leaders in their communities. They were extremely vocal in demonstrations against amending the 1923 immigration laws (Con et al., 1982:143).

3.3.3. Period of Support (1947-1967)

The Canadian government repealed the 1923 legislation on May 1, 1947, but highly restrictive conditions remained that limited the number of Chinese immigrants. In many geographical regions, the Chinese churches continued to play a crucial role in the preservation of the Chinese community. Many churches maintained an attachment with Chinese culture through the use of traditional Chinese musical instruments (Wright, 1988:107). Perhaps the Montreal area churches were most active in preserving the Chinese community between 1947-1962, since they organized associations such as a boy scout troop, a youth group, a folk dance club, and even a Chinese hospital (Con et al., 1982:236-237).

3.3.4. Period of Expansion (1967 -)

With the change of government regulations that welcomed new Chinese immigrants, the Chinese churches in Canada began to revitalize themselves and multiply. A reason for this growth was the large number of college students who arrived from Hong Kong and Taiwan. These students brought with them the fire of revival that had swept through university and high school campuses in the 1950s. "Many Christian students began to come together for fellowship and Bible study on the major college campuses in the U.S. and Canada. They launched a strong Christian movement among Chinese students in North America" (Pang, 1985:24).

From the flood of immigration, the number of Chinese Christian bodies in Canada has grown rapidly in number. Chinese ethnic churches have increased in number from less than 20 in the 1960s to approximately 231 in 1992 (Mak, 1993:16). Since the 1960s, one Chinese church was formed almost every forty-five days, and this growth rate likely will continue throughout this decade. The present distribution of Chinese Churches in Canada is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

The Distribution of Chinese Churches in Canada

Province	Number	City	Number
Br. Columbia	66	Victoria	3
		Greater Vancouver	63
Alberta	29	Edmonton	12
		Calgary	13
		Other cities	4
Saskatchewan	7	Regina	3
		Saskatoon	2
		Other cities	2
Manitoba	6	Winnipeg	6
Ontario	113	Greater Toronto	97
		Ottawa	6
		Other cities	10
Quebec	7	Montreal Area	7
Nova Scotia	2	Halifax	2
Newfoundland	1	St. Johns	1
Total	231	Total	231

Source: Reproduced from Mak, 1993:16.

3.4. Chinese Christianity in Edmonton

Christian missionary work began around 1917 in the Chinese community in Edmonton. The effort to "Christianize" the Chinese centred around the Westminster Church, where the Methodist and Presbyterian denomination jointly

sponsored religious and English instruction for the Chinese (Oosterhout, 1929:102). The "domestics and restaurant men who attended were more interested in learning English than learning about Christianity and few became Christians" (Hoe, 1976:75, quoting the Edmonton Bulletin, May 23, 1908). The Edmonton Chinese YMCA, organized in 1921, taught Christianity and the English language to the Chinese community. It provided an alternative channel for group activities and integration with society at large (Chang, 1984:44).

Henry Mah, a Chinese church worker from Medicine Hat, with help from the Methodist and Presbyterian missions, found the Chinese YMCA. Many of the other churches in Edmonton gave one hundred and fifty dollars a piece to Henry Mah for his work with the Chinese community in September, 1921.

Henry Mah, however, returned to China in the Autumn of 1922. A Chinese minister from Winnipeg, Rev. Mah Seung, came to work for the Chinese YMCA from 1924 to 1927. Rev. C.P. Leung took over the youth organization from 1927 till 1930, when it was closed down due to destruction caused by some unruly members (Hoe, 1976:209). On October 1, 1930, with help from the United Church of Canada, Reverend Dickman Fong came to organize the first Chinese church in Edmonton, named the Edmonton Chinese United Church.

Since 1930, a number of other Chinese ethnic churches have begun in the city. Presently, there exists 13 Chinese Protestant Christian churches and one Chinese Catholic parish. Of these Christian bodies, the membership size and type of ministry is displayed in Table 3. Approximately 2,520 Chinese individuals in

Edmonton attend Chinese Christian associations regularly (Leung, 1991:16).

Table 3

The Distribution and Ministry of the Chinese Churches in Edmonton, Alberta

LOCAL CHINESE CHURCH	SIZE	MINISTRY
W. Edmonton Chinese Alliance	500	C M E
Edmonton Chinese Christian	400	C E
Edmonton Chinese Catholic	300	C
S. Edmonton Chinese Alliance	300	C M E
N. Edmonton Chinese Alliance	250	C
Edmonton Chinese Baptist	200	C
Edmonton Chinese United	150	C
Edmonton New Life Chinese Lutheran	150	M
Landsdowne Chinese Baptist	100	C
Good Shepherd Chinese Lutheran	70	M
Edmonton Chinese Mennonite	50	C
Edmonton Chinese Pentecostal	50	E

C = Cantonese M = Mandarin E = English

Source: Leung, 1991:16

Chapter Four
Edmonton Chinese United Church

4.1. History

On October 1, 1930, with support from the United Church of Canada, Reverend Dickman Fong arrived in Edmonton to organize a Chinese United Church. Reverend Fong conducted regular Church services and a small Sunday school in his house until 1932, when the Church began to rent an old boarding home from the Salvation Army at 10153 - 96 Street. Officially formed on November 20, 1932, the Church remains located at this address. From 1930 to 1933, seventeen Chinese adults and fourteen children experienced baptism in the Church and the regular Church attendance ranged between fifteen to twenty members (Hoe, 1976:210).

Due primarily to the harsh regulations restricting Chinese immigration, Church attendance always has been small. Between 1933 and 1954, the Church had thirty to forty members (Hoe, 1976:211). The Chinese United Church's success remained modest in the 1940s and 1950s, although in 1953 the Church eventually bought the building and constructed an adjoining area. Its congregation grew slightly between 1953 and 1962, reaching an attendance of a hundred members between 1964 and 1973 (Hoe, 1976:211). With the need to expand and upgrade the old Church building, the United Church replaced the original building in 1987. In 1993, the Church further expanded by building a new education wing.

The Chinese United Church also ran a school throughout the early period,

which provided the only Chinese language instruction available in Edmonton. The United Church Chinese school was started in 1932 when Reverend Fong taught Chinese to a few adults and eight children (Con et al., 1982:236). According to the elderly Chinese, the idea of educating the children in Chinese was to maintain some degree of Chinese cultural identity, and to prevent total Westernization. The children learned Chinese customs and traditions so that they would be aware of their ancestral culture. The primary emphasis, however, was to teach them how to read and write Chinese. Up to the present time, the Church continues to provide a Chinese language school.

The total residing and non-residing membership of the Edmonton Chinese United Church as of December 31, 1994 is one hundred and six. The United Church of Canada denomination determines the membership procedures, which include both baptism and attendance requirements. Ten new members joined in 1994, five of whom underwent baptism while the other five agreed to membership by transfer of certificate.

4.1.1. Leadership

The leadership of the Edmonton Chinese United Church consists of two pastoral leaders and an Official Board. Every two years, the congregation elects fifteen official Board committee members. The pastoral staff consists of a Senior Pastor and a Director of Youth. At the time of this study, the Church recently welcomed a new Senior Pastor. Previously, the Church went almost a year without

one. Through a joint Pastoral Relations Committee comprised of Church representatives and a Edmonton United Church presbytery representative, the hiring of the pastor fulfilled the United Church of Canada hiring procedure.

The current pastoral staff come from various denominational traditions. Reverend Karl Lam, the present Senior Pastor, graduated from Concordia Seminary in Hong Kong. His denominational background is with the Lutheran Missionary Synod. In his first pastoral position, he served as a Lutheran minister in Hong Kong. In order to be ordained as an United Church minister, the United Church of Canada required Reverend Lam to take some additional theological training. Miss Tang, the Youth Director, graduated from the Alliance Seminary in Hong Kong. Her previous association was with the Church of Christ denomination in Hong Kong. The denominational background of both members of the pastoral team do not include prior membership with the United Church of Canada.

4.1.2. Affiliation

The Edmonton Chinese United Church is a unit organization of the larger United Church of Canada synod:

> All the unit Church[es] are called a pastoral charge . . . not to be confused with the term church in the greater sense. And, well, the structure of the United Church of Canada is [modelled] closely to that of the government of Canada. We have a general council in Toronto, and then we have the Conference, the second level, [which] is equivalent to the Provincial level, and then we have the presbytery, which is like the city level. And now, the fourth level is the pastoral charge. [The pastoral charges are] all equal. The Chinese United Church is equal to the other English speaking Canadian [United]

Churches (Chu interview with Chan, 1995:8).[5]

Encounters between members of the Chinese United Church and other Edmonton area United Churches is rare with language being the major reason for non-contact. Few Church members are comfortable with non-Chinese language engagements.

The Chinese United Church does, however, maintain affiliation with a number of United Church organizations in Edmonton. Communication is commencing between the Church and the nearby McDougall United Church because of Asian students attending Alberta College. Alberta College is an educational institution that is adjacent to the McDougall United Church. Consequently, the two Churches are initiating a joint venture in an attempt to reach students that attend Alberta College. In addition, the youth segment of the Church participates occasionally with the Edmonton Korean United Church youth group. The two organizations are planning to organize an upcoming combined youth retreat. The leaders of the United Churches in Edmonton unite once a month for an organizational meeting. Approximately thirty Edmonton United Churches meet monthly to share their problems and happenings. In terms of affiliation with missionary organizations, the Chinese United Church is more concerned to minister to the local community than to the rest of the world. The only outreach outside of their local community is their obligation to provide donations to the United Church of Canada Mission Fund.

The United Church of Canada is affiliated with the Church of Christ in China organization. It is a Christian denomination particular to Southeast Asia.

Church of Christ in China members who immigrate to Edmonton are aware of the Chinese United Church because of the affiliation between the two. Few members of the congregation, however, are from the Church of Christ in China denomination.

Contact among other Chinese religious organizations in Edmonton is performed predominantly at the pastoral level. An Edmonton Ministerial Evangelical Fellowship "includes the thirteen Chinese Churches in the city. So we gather together, [and] sometime[s] [we] cooperate with the advertisement in the Chinese newspaper. Also, [we] organize some rally meeting[s], like some crusade" (Chu interview with Lam, 1995b:4). The pastoral fellowship meets once a month at the different Chinese Church locations around the city.

The Chinese United Church is affiliated with the Edmonton Seniors Recreation Society. This Chinese senior group does not bear the name of the Church, but for the past 20 years it has gathered at the Church for monthly meetings. In addition, the Church has informal contacts with the nearby Chinese Multicultural Centre and other groups in the Chinese Community:

> The Chinese United Church [has] very strong connection[s] with the Chinese community. By community, I mean the old Chinese community like all the associations with the Chinese society, the Mah's, Wong's, Toy-shan, all the Chinese so-called old organizations. They respect the Church, the Chinese United Church, as their own Church, but they are not the members. Right. Every year they have [a] celebration or special event, [and] they will send the invitation to us. Like here, we have [the] so-called Pon Cultural Society. They give us the official celebration [invitations], because this is the first time they have this society [celebration]. And the other one is the Wong Benevolent Society. They always send us invitation to their

> banquet. [We are the] only one Church they invite. One of the 13 churches in Edmonton (Chu interview with Lam, 1995b:5).[6]

Due to its historical role as a pillar to the Chinese community, the Church maintains strong connections with older Chinese organizations.

4.2. Attendance

A typical Sunday worship service averages between eighty to ninety individuals. Astonishingly, the Church estimates that sixty-three households are under pastoral care (Chinese Annual Report, 1995:10). Consequently, the majority of the congregation consists of single Cantonese speaking lower middle class individuals. The Church is comprised of few young couples, families, and college students with the average age of the congregation being sixty-five.

Of the ten respondents, only one did not attend a religious ceremony periodically in her homeland. Of the five respondents who were affiliated with a Christian religious organization in the past, their denominational background included Lutheran, Church of Christ, Methodist, and Presbyterian associations. In a comparison between religious attendance overseas and in Canada, the participation of respondents increased from 4.00 times a month in their homeland to 4.50 times a month in Canada. Since their arrival into Canada, the attendance of respondents did not increase much in frequency since nine of the respondents were committed Christians before they immigrated.

In order to assess the motivational aspect of increased religious participation,

the questionnaire asked respondents to order the importance of religious (worship God and learn religious truth), social (see and make new friends), emotional (feel better about yourself), and parental (encourage your child's religiosity) motivations as reasons to first appear at church. The respondents answered on a five point likert scale with one being not very important and five being very important. Of the ten respondents who answered, the primary reason they first visited the Church was religious (5.00), followed by parental (4.43), emotional (4.00), and social (2.50) [see table 4.1]. Respondents initially approached the Church not to make friends, but fundamentally to worship God.

Respondents then ranked the importance of religious, social, emotional, and parental motivations as explanations of continued Church attendance. The response was nearly identical with religious motivation being the primary reason (5.00), followed by parental (4.43), emotional (4.00), and then social motivations (3.13) for continued attendance [see table 4.1]. Only social motivation changed after a period of continued attendance. After attending the Church for some time, immigrants participated slightly more because of the social relationships made.

4.3. Associations

The Edmonton Chinese United Church offers a number of associations. Few of these associations, however, are specifically for the new immigrants.

4.3.1. Fellowships

For immigrants, the Chinese United Church provides a monthly adult fellowship and a women's group. These support groups furnish a relaxed atmosphere of biblical teaching and prayer support, amidst opportunities of companionship. The adult fellowship group is the Church association that the respondents utilised most often [see table 4.2]. All ten of the respondents attend the fellowship regularly.

According to the respondents, the fellowship is an association that is beneficial in assisting their adaptation into Canada. On a scale of five, Respondents ranked Church fellowship at 3.75. Fellowships are social groups where members provide each other support and a sense of belonging through interaction with each other.

4.3.2. Sunday Worship Service

Nine of the ten respondents attend the Sunday worship service regularly. The service is predominately in Cantonese with hymns consisting of Western songs that are translated into Chinese. The hymn book is a traditional standardized hymn book from the Church of Christ in China denomination. Scripture reading also is in Chinese, since most members use the Chinese translation of the Holy Bible. The sermon is customarily in Cantonese with English interpretation provided over headphones. Approximately five English speaking individuals use the headphones. The Senior Pastor often introduces the contents of his sermon in English and Cantonese, delivers the body in Cantonese, and ends his message in a prayer which

includes both languages. Occasionally, English-speaking lecturers deliver the Sunday message in English that an interpreter then translates into Chinese.

According to the respondents, the Sunday worship service is a valuable Church association in their adaptation into Canada. On a scale of five, the worship service was ranked 3.88 in importance [table 4.3]. Perhaps the usefulness of the Sunday worship service is due to the necessity to sing and listen to sermons occasionally in English.

4.3.3. English Language Associations

Recently, the Chinese United Church introduced two English speaking associations. The Church began a Fellowship in English that gathers once every two months. Roughly twenty to thirty individuals come to each meeting. The Fellowship program includes sharing, biblical discussions, and singing. Many older second generation members expressed their appreciation for the formation of this group.

Recently, the Church also established a youth fellowship that meets every month. Approximately fifteen to twenty individuals appeared at the first meeting, comprised of teens between thirteen and eighteen years old. The Church "prepares some light snack or light supper and then we will have the service. We also have a special theme [and] small group[s] together (Chu interview with Lam, 1995b:1).

4.3.4. Other Associations

The Church conducts regular Bible study prayer meetings on Tuesday and Thursday of each week. At the time of this examination, only one meeting took place each week due to low participation, alternating between Tuesday and Thursday. A small prayer meeting also takes place immediately preceding the Sunday worship service. All three prayers meetings have a combined attendance of about fifteen to twenty persons.

The Church also offers a bi-weekly tai chi class on Wednesday and Friday morning. Each class has an attendance of forty individuals and the average age of members is approximately fifty to sixty years old. The tai chi classes serve as a means to attract newcomers to the Church. Besides attracting a few members to its Sunday service, the Church receives financial support from the tai chi class.

> We have successfully [made] the students here have a commitment. They do actually make donations on the major Church activities. That means that they are a little bit more active and subjectively involved thanks to the leader of the group. I mean, tai chi master, Mr. Mah. [He] volunteer[s] twice a week for three years. [He is] even more involved than many of our deacons. Twice every week for three years. (Chu interview with Chan, 1995:7)

The tai chi class welcomes a number of regular participants from the nearby Chinese Elders Mansion as wells as other Chinese religious organizations.

4.4. Programs

The Chinese United Church does not furnish many programs geared specifically to help immigrants adapt to Canadian society.

4.4.1. Immigrant Programs

The pastoral staff of the Church occasionally provides spiritual and parental counselling to recently-landed immigrants. Few immigrants, however, approach the pastoral staff for counselling and job placement opportunities.

4.4.2. English Language Education

The Church does not presently offer an English language education program. Historically, the Church played an important role in educating a large number of individuals in the Chinese community to understand English. The Church pastor often had to write and interpret letters to members of the Chinese community. Presently, however, the Church does not offer any English language education.

4.4.3. Chinese Language Education

The Church operates a computerized Chinese Language school. Students learn Chinese through the application of a Chinese computer program. They also learn how to type Chinese characters through the operation of the computer. Instructors work on a "voluntary basis and we have about twenty students. We train them in computerized Chinese. And at the same time, we can try to attract the parents and the Children into the Church and [for] many of them [it] is the first time they [have] come to a Christian church" (Chu interview with Chan, 1995:3). According to Reverend Lam, four Chinese school students now also attend Sunday School class.

4.4.4. Festivals

The Church holds special services for Christian celebrations of Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving. Occasionally, the Church organizes a large Christmas celebration with a service, plays, and skits. The 1994 Christmas celebration had a feast of 160 people in the basement of the Church. A number of Church members invited friends and relatives to this function.

The Church avoids the formal celebration of traditional Chinese festivals such as Chinese New Year. It abstains from celebrating Chinese holidays in an attempt to distance itself from being identified as a Chinese shrine. During Chinese ritual periods, a number of individuals in Chinatown appear at the Church to perform folk or Buddhist rites. The Church aspires to detach itself from any misinterpretation of its identity and character.

4.5. Discussion

The Chinese United Church exhibits sect-like characteristics while still being integrated in the larger church-type United Church organization. Since the mainstream United Church of Canada denomination sponsors the it, I hypothesized earlier that the Chinese United Church is likely to conform to the language and practices of the larger denomination and the host society. In addition, the Chinese United Church is well over sixty years old and may be slowly undergoing organizational accommodation. Through the analysis of its programs and associations, however, the Chinese United Church demonstrates a number of sect-

like characteristics.

The Church does not provide associations or programs that contribute specifically to the adaptation of immigrants to Canadian culture. Historically, the Chinese United Church played a crucial role in the Chinese community in mediating disputes with the government, encouraging the learning of the English language, and other important functions. It no longer assumes this integrative function. For the majority of respondents, the Church does not provide programs or associations that help members integrate into Canadian culture. Most respondents declared that the Chinese United Church did not function to improve their English, learn Canadian values, find Canadian friends, and make contact with non-Chinese persons [see table 4.4].

In discovering the subjective importance of the Church, the questionnaire asked respondents: "how would you rate the importance of this Church in helping you adapt to Canada?" On a scale of five, respondents scored an average of 2.38 in response to the question. Respondents asserted that the Church does not render a meaningful role in their adaptation into Canada. Instead, the Chinese United Church seems to assist immigrants in maintaining contact with other Chinese individuals and the Chinese community.

Traditionally, the Chinese United Church always has maintained strong connections with the Chinese community. Indeed, its existence generally hinges on the persistent and continued association with that community. In addition, the majority of Chinese United Church functions must cater to the needs of the elderly

congregation. Again, the average age of the Chinese United Church congregation is sixty-five. Thus, it must promote ethnic programs such as tai chi classes, Chinese school, and contact with Chinatown organizations in order to survive.

Although the Chinese United Church provides functions that cling to its ethnic identity, its Church leaders realize that its future depends on keeping the younger English-speaking members of the Church and attracting younger families. If not, then over time the organization will wither away, from lack of funds, personnel, and membership. Even if new immigrants bolster their ranks, their addition to the membership only defers the eventual demise of the original organization. In spite of this need, the Chinese United Church is uncertain of its approach towards English language programs. Official board secretary Kenneth Chan is concerned about initiating an English service:

> [W]e have been watching Chinese churches in North America and frankly speaking, we don't have -- we are not convinced that they are any successful example[s] for an English assembly within a Chinese Church. Eventually they split into two churches. That makes it a bit confusing or embarrassing to bear the name of Chinese. Because you yourself may be in such a position. But think about it, what if all goes well? Each of them. Personally, I think that will exaggerate the difference in language within (Chu interview with Chan, 1995:9).

His opposition may be justified on the grounds of deviant practice and lack of doctrinal conformity among the two separate congregations. Aside from the introduction of a separate English worship service, Kenneth Chan does realize that an emphasis on English-speaking programs is inevitable for the future of this Church. Pastor Lam agrees:

> Of all the groups in the Church, we don't have any English speaking [groups]. It looks like there is no group for them. They feel [like they are] not belonging. So why not start an English group as soon as possible? Why not [start an English group] from what we have right now, [an] English speaking fellowship right now? (Chu interview with Lam, 1995a:6).

Pastor Lam not only sees the need for a English-speaking fellowship, but also he envisions the creation of an English worship service as well:

> That is my vision. I hope we will start the English service as soon as possible for English speaking Chinese . . . . Hopefully, we can. But with the numbers of English speaking people in the congregation, it is not the right time to start the service right now, but fellowship is needed (Interview with Lam, 1995b:7).

Pastor Lam realizes the immediate need to provide some English-speaking programs and associations.

The Chinese United Church also realizes that it eventually will attract non-Chinese individuals into the Church:

> [W]e also would like some Canadians, some white people, to join with us. We start[ed] today, like the tai chi class, we have a white lady join with us. She is very happy. It is a good start[ing] point. The Church -- we always have [had] the Canadian born. Some members here [are] 60 something, 70 [years old]. But they are [Chinese] Canadian born. They are very happy that we start the English fellowship (Chu interview with Lam, 1995b:7).

Pastor Lam foresees an increasingly more diverse multi-ethnic membership within the next generation:

> Yes, maybe after next generation. Before 25 years later, maybe this Church will change to so-called multi . . . maybe because they called mainstream . . . yes, multi-typical church, multicultural church with all types of people together (Chu interview with Lam, 1995b:7).

He compares the Chinese United Church with the Japanese United Churches in

North America:

> I talk[ed] to you before [about] the Japanese Church. They are not all Japanese. You can see [that] they have some white people [who] joined together. Because of marriage, they get together. It looks like a multi-cultural church. That is what I think [this Church] will be one day. Maybe [the] first thing that will happen is an English speaking church, and then the multicultural church, maybe one day. But at the very beginning, like right now, we have all Chinese speaking, but maybe later, half and half, and then more and more English speaking and less Chinese (Chu Interview with Lam, 1995a:8).

Although the Church understands that it eventually will need to incorporate programs and associations that will cater more to English speaking members, it still focuses principally on the majority of its members -- the older first generation.

Table 4.1.

The Reasons Immigrants Attend and Remain at the Chinese United Church (Range 1.00 to 5.00)

MOTIVATIONAL REASONS	REASON FOR ATTENDANCE	REASON FOR REMAINING
Religious Reasons	5.00	5.00
Social Reasons	2.50	3.13
Emotional Reasons	4.00	4.00
Parental Reasons	4.43	4.43

Table 4.2.

Frequencies on the Use of Specific Chinese United Church Programs and Associations (n=10)

CHURCH ASSOCIATION OR PROGRAM	FREQUENCY
Church fellowships	10
Worship service	9
Prayer meeting	5

Table 4.3.

The Importance Placed on Specific Chinese United Church Programs and Associations (Range 1.00 to 5.00).

CHURCH ASSOCIATION OF PROGRAM	IMPORTANCE
Worship service	3.88
Church fellowships	3.75

Table 4.4.

Frequencies on Specific Functions that the Chinese United Church Provides in the Adaptation of Immigrants (n=9)

FUNCTIONS	YES	NO
Improve English	2	7
Learn Canadian values	3	6
Find Canadian friends	2	7
Contact with Non Chinese persons	0	9

Chapter Five
Edmonton Chinese Christian Church

5.1. History

In early September, 1982:

> a small group of Chinese Christians in Edmonton were praying and sharing together. They were touched by the need for gospel among the Chinese in the Millwoods area. As they continue[d] to pray regularly for the guidance of the Lord, the vision of forming an evangelistic church in the southeast part of the City became clear. On January 2, 1983, the first worship service of the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church was held (Mak, A. 1992:2).

In a junior high school gym, approximately a hundred people attended the first Sunday worship service. Most of these early participants departed from the Edmonton Chinese Alliance Church in order to establish the Chinese Christian Church. Andrew Mak asserts that the reason for the estrangement was religious and evangelical, not personal or doctrinal, as the founding Church members saw the need for a Chinese religious organization in the south side of the city. After only nine months, the Chinese Christian Church moved to its present location in September of 1983, and still is renting the vacant elementary school from the Edmonton Catholic School Board.

The average attendance of the Chinese worship service grew from 155 in 1983 to 236 in 1985. Due to this growth in attendance, the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church decided to construct a new sanctuary adjoining the existing school site which opened in November, 1987. Since then, the Church has made yet another expansion. With a growing deficiency of space and classrooms, the Church

completed the construction of an additional wing of eight classrooms in December of 1991. Presently, the Church is undergoing negotiations to buy both the land and the original school building from the Edmonton Catholic School Board.

Although the weekly Edmonton Chinese Christian Church attendance reaches 500 individuals or so, only 260 are members. The Church constitution declares the criteria of membership with an emphasis on a shared belief in doctrine. Andrew Mak, the 1995 Chairman of the Church Deacon Board, summarizes the criteria as "anyone who is a born again Christian, been baptized, and who ha[s] the same belief as our Church. [We] normally would accept them as members" (Chu interview with Mak, 1994:1).

5.1.1. Leadership

The leadership of the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church consists of five pastoral workers and a group of thirteen deacons. The pastoral staff is comprised of a Senior Pastor, two Assistant Pastors, an Associate Pastor, and a Christian Education Director. All of the past and present Church leaders have graduated from a recognized theological institution. For instance, the first Senior Pastor of the Church graduated from Hong Kong Alliance Seminary and Fuller Alliance Seminary in California. The Church's second Senior Pastor first graduated from Hong Kong Alliance Seminary and then received his doctorate at Wheaton College in the United States. Its third and present Senior Pastor graduated from the China Graduate School of Theology. Both Assistant Pastors are from the North American

Baptist Seminary located in Edmonton, Alberta.

Past and present members of the pastoral staff come from a wide range of denominations and religious traditions. All five current pastoral workers arise from different denominational backgrounds. This diversity of leadership--Alliance, Presbyterian, Baptist, Mennonite, and Pentecostal--provides the Church with a variety of leadership styles and beliefs.

5.1.2. Affiliation

The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church is not directly affiliated with any larger denomination or synod. Although the majority of the founding Church members came from an Alliance denominational tradition, no relationship exists between the Church and the denomination. The non-denominational label enables the Church to attract Christians associated previously with other Protestant denominations.

Contact exists, however, with a large assortment of religious organizations. For instance, the Church is associated with the Chinese Outreach broadcast organization. Attempting to target non-Christian Chinese, the Chinese Outreach transmits a weekly radio program that broadcasts in both Cantonese and Mandarin. The Church donates steady financial support, and a number of Church members serve as volunteers for the organization.

In addition, the Church is affiliated with the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Centre. A group of Church members go once a month to help the Chaplain Centre

conduct its worship service. The Church also sponsors the Grande Prairie Chinese Christian Church by providing training and resources to the Church in Grande Prairie. Furthermore, the Church sponsors an evangelistic group called Evangelism Explosion that does visitation on a weekly basis. This evangelistic group targets individuals predominantly of Chinese descent that originally come from Hong Kong.

The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church also is affiliated with a number of missionary organizations. The Church supports both International (Sudan International Mission, Action International) and Chinese (Chinese Christian Mission, Chinese Outreach for World Wide Evangelism) mission organizations. Through these organizations, the Church endorses a number of overseas missionaries. Presently, it sponsors missionaries in Africa, Brazil, Costa Rica, and the Philippines. Many of these missionaries do not aim specifically to evangelize Chinese individuals. The Church believes that the gospel is not only for the Chinese, although it sees itself as being somewhat accountable for evangelizing to Chinese persons.

The English segment of the Church is affiliated with a large number of counterpart English-speaking ministries from Korean and Japanese religious organizations in the Edmonton area. They form an association named Youth In Christ, which involves a joint youth rally every three months. The rally is held customarily at the Church, because it has the largest meeting area.

Again, interaction with the other Chinese Churches exists essentially at the pastoral level through the Edmonton Chinese Pastoral Fellowship. As Assistant

Pastor William Leung states, "we meet once a month for fellowship and also to discuss some general issues related to the whole Chinese community" (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:6). On occasion, the Chinese Churches combine resources for city-wide evangelical meetings and conferences.

5.2. Attendance

The majority of Edmonton Chinese Christian Church goers consists of middle class professional families principally from Hong Kong whose primarily language is Cantonese. Many speak adequate English and are employed as engineers, computer related professionals, or in medically related occupations. A number of second generation adolescents and children thus accompany their parents to Church. Approximately forty Mandarin-speaking individuals from the People's Republic of China and Taiwan participate in Church functions. In addition, a significant number of overseas college students attend.

Only ten of the thirty respondents attended a religious ceremony periodically in their homeland. Of the five respondents who expressed affiliation with a Christian religious organization in their past, their denominational background included Baptist, Evangelical Free, and Alliance associations. In a comparison between religious attendance overseas and in Canada, the participation of respondents increased from 1.93 times a month in their homeland to 4.23 times a month in Canada. After their arrival into Canada, their attendance at religious functions more than doubled in frequency.

In order to assess the motivational aspect of increased religious participation, respondents ordered the importance of religious motivations (worship God and learn religious truth), social motivations (see and make new friends), emotional motivations (feel better about oneself), and parental motivations (encourage your child's religiosity) as reasons to first appear at Church. The respondents answered on a five point likert scale with one being not very important and five being very important. Of the thirty respondents who answered, the primary reason that they first visited the Church was social (3.78), followed by religious (3.77), emotional (3.21), and parental (3.12) motivations [see table 5.1]. Respondents initially approached the Church to worship God and to alleviate their tension associated with migration by making new friends.

Respondents then ranked the importance of religious, social, emotional, and parental motivations as explanations of continued Church attendance. The primary reason was religious (4.50), followed by social (3.67), parental (3.56) and then emotional motivations (3.54) [see table 5.1]. Religious motivations spawn the largest increase as a catalyst for continued attendance. In addition, the only motivation that showed a decrease with continued attendance was social. After a period of Church attendance, immigrants seem to have found God, replacing friends with religion as the primary reasons they now attend Church.

5.3. Associations

For immigrants, the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church offers a number

of associations. Several of these associations are group meetings of individuals that share some common characteristic.

5.3.1. Fellowships

Among the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church associations, immigrants used the fellowship groups most often. Of the thirty respondents, twenty-nine attend a fellowship regularly [see table 5.2]. Fellowships are informal group training programs for men, women, senior people, and married couples. For immigrants, the Church provides two Chinese-language student fellowships, a Mandarin-speaking adult fellowship, a women's group, a senior fellowship, a family fellowship, and a new immigrant fellowship. These support groups furnish a relaxed atmosphere of camaraderie and security, alongside biblical teaching and prayer support. Specific programs and events of fellowship meetings include bi-monthly pot-luck dinners, guest speakers on social issues, and public outings. The fellowships often invite guest speakers from other Chinese religious organizations in the region.

Many of these fellowships help newcomers adapt to their new social surroundings. For instance, in the Mandarin speaking fellowship, a Mandarin support network "provide[s] services such as getting them to know the city, to know the places. Most of them are university students. There are people that [sic] help them, you know, get familiarized with university faculty and offices" (Chu interview with Mak, 1994:4).

Fourteen of the respondents attend the Family Fellowship. Divided into geographical sections, the Family Fellowship leader of each district is responsible for contacting and producing a caring function to immigrant families. New immigrant families participate in monthly meetings often consisting of pot-luck dinners, singing, and testimonial sharing.

The Church also organizes a monthly fellowship meeting for new immigrants. The average attendance of the Immigrant Fellowship ranges from twenty to forty individuals. According to Andrew Mak, the fellowship provides a number of informal services "such as helping new immigrants settle down [in] places, get the children to schools. Those are done more in a less formal basis through members of the Church volunteering their services" (Chu interview with Mak, 1994:2). Pastor Leung states further that:

> the new Immigrant Fellowships also have seminars occasionally, usually related to how to understand [the] Canadian taxation system, and also how to sell and buy homes . . . . We also have people to help the new immigrant children to settle down in school[s]. That also helps them (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:4).

According to the respondents, the fellowship groups were the most important associations in assisting their adaptation into Canada. On a scale of five, respondents ranked church fellowship 3.72 in importance. Fellowships are social groups where members provide each other with emotional support and a sense of belonging.

5.3.2. Sunday Service

The Sunday service is predominately in Chinese with "singspiration" and hymns consisting of translated English songs. The Church uses the Alliance Press Chinese-English hymn book. All the songs in the hymn book are in both English and Chinese. Usually, the sermons last for thirty to forty-five minutes. The sermons are in Cantonese with Mandarin interpretation provided over headphones. Approximately fifteen or so Mandarin individuals use the headphones. Occasionally, English-speaking lecturers deliver the Sunday message in English which is then translated into Cantonese. Scripture reading also is in Chinese, since most members use the Chinese translation of the Holy Bible.

Twenty-seven of the thirty respondents attend the Sunday worship service regularly. Only the fellowship meetings were more popular among immigrants. According to the respondents, the worship service ranked ordinarily as a useful Church association in their adaptation into Canada. On a scale of five, the worship service was ranked 3.07 in importance [table 5.3]. The worship service does ease the adaptation process of immigrants by forcing immigrants to occasionally listen to sermons or sing songs in English.

5.3.3. English Language Associations

Due to the need to attend to the English-speaking second generation of the Church, the Church began an English ministry in October of 1984. The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church choose a direct approach in sustaining its English-speaking membership by establishing a English ministry that includes the exclusive

use of English in their service, fellowships, and Sunday School classes. Presently, the English Service consists of approximately ninety members.

The Church exhibits organizational flexibility in allowing the English-speaking sector to adopt the attitudes and practices of mainstream religious groups already established in the larger community. The English segment of the Church introduced mainstream Western practices such as the celebration of Advent and Lent seasons, contemporary forms of worship including the use of drums and guitars, as well as theatrical skits and plays.

These English programs are available to immigrants and foreign students, but most choose to attend Chinese language functions instead. The English-speaking programs exist specifically for second generation Canadian born Chinese adults and youths.

5.3.4. Other Associations

Sunday School is another religious association that recent immigrants utilize. Twenty-four of the thirty respondents attend a Sunday School class weekly. These classes take place each Sunday morning after the worship service. Pertaining to biblical and spiritual issues, Sunday School instruction is in Chinese. It seems that the Sunday School is an important religious program for training Christians. The Sunday School, graded a 2.74 in importance, is a moderately functional program in the adaptation experience of respondents.

Twelve of the thirty respondents take part in the weekly prayer meeting.

The Wednesday prayer meeting consists of dividing members into small groups where members then pray for the needs of one other. Members of the prayer meeting tend to consist of devoted senior members of the Church.

5.4. Programs

5.4.1. Immigrant Programs

In the past, new immigrants received a guidebook to assist their assimilation experience. It consisted of transportation assistance, maps, and even directions to make long-distance telephone calls. The guidebook no longer exists because the contents within the manual required revision. At this time, no one has undertaken the revisions.

The pastoral staff of the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church also provides spiritual, parental, and career counselling to recently-landed immigrants. Few immigrants, however, utilize the counselling services available to them. Of those who do, the majority of individuals are women remaining in Canada with their children while their husbands are back in their homeland, particularly Hong Kong, for business reasons.

Fellowship counsellors and the pastoral staff assist immigrants in finding occupations, although no institutionalized job placement program exists. This 'job placement' is on a personal level between unemployed members and Church affiliated employers. Immigrants learn of job availability by word of mouth. In the

past, the Church used bulletin board postings for employment positions, but this service ceased. In addition, the Church conducted seminars in order to help new immigrants prepare resumes and prepare for interviews. The last seminar took place over two years ago.

5.4.2. English Language Education

The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church does not offer an established English language education program for immigrants. Briefly, in the past, an English class existed that specifically targeted foreign students planning to write the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) exam. Due to the fact that a large contingent of Church members needed to write and pass the exam, the Church provided the course. The instructors of the course included members of the Church and Canadian students from the University of Alberta. Andrew Mak suggests that this service would be provided again if a large student contingent were to express a need.

Pastor Leung affirms that the primary reason for not providing English langauge education is that "we are at the same time competing with a lot of social agencies who already offer that kind of service" (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:4). With numerous agencies that provide English language education, he seems to doubt high enrolment and success of a English language school at the Church.

5.4.3. Chinese Language Education

In 1984, the Church commenced its operation of a Chinese language school. Since the Church Senior Pastor is the official superintendent of the school and a Church deacon serves as the school principal, a close administrative connection exists between the two institutions. The school has an enrolment of approximately 250 students and the age group runs from preschool to senior high students.

The Chinese school exists for parents who would like their children to understand Chinese. The Chinese school even includes a number of non-Chinese children enroled in the classes. Another reason for providing Chinese language education is the Church's attempt to use the school as a vehicle for evangelism. The majority of Chinese school students do not attend other Church functions. The school thus holds a few evangelical assemblies each year.

5.4.4. Festivals

The Church imparts special services to mark festivals and celebrate national holidays. It celebrates Christmas with dramas, carolling, and a Christmas pageant. These festivities are predominately in English. A special carolling activity takes place outside the Church as carollers perform at the maximum security penitentiary and an inner-city mission. All other activities use Chinese and are within the Church building.

During Chinese New Year, a festivity often takes place as different groups in the Church competitively perform skits and other theatrical productions. Normally, the Chinese New Year celebration program consist of performances

which include Chinese folk dance or drama. Occasionally, the Church has a Chinese New Year dinner banquet. Church supported celebrations of Chinese festivals, however, are rare, with Chinese New Year being the only such commemoration. In 1995, the Church did not sponsor a formal celebration of Chinese New Year.

5.5. Discussion

Although the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church provides a number of supportive associations and programs to immigrants, the Church does not provide programs that contribute presently to the integration of immigrants into Canadian culture. For the majority of respondents, the Church does not provide functions that help members fuse into mainstream society. Most respondents declared that the Church did not function to improve their English, find Canadian friends, nor make contact with non-Chinese persons (see table 5.4).

The majority of respondents replied, however, that the Church helped facilitate the learning of Canadian values. Fifteen respondents believed that the Church helps educate and identify Canadian values, while thirteen believed that the Church did not perform this function (see table 5.4).

In discovering the subjective importance of the Church, the questionnaire asked respondents: "how would you rate the importance of this Church in helping you adapt to Canada?" On a scale of five, respondents scored an average of 3.28 in response to the question. Respondents asserted that the Church played a

moderately meaningful role in their adaptation to Canada.

The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church does realizes the importance of providing support to recent Chinese immigrants arriving into Canadian society. Pastor William Leung writes that:

> every successful church has a unique focus, something special to offer to a particular population segment. They have [a] clear and specific purpose, priorities, and style of ministry. [The] Edmonton Chinese Christian Church is an explicitly ethnic church, and in the last ten years the focus have been of the immigrant families (Leung, 1993:54).

In classifying what he calls an ethnic Church, Pastor Leung states that "right now . . . I would still classify [it] as a community church -- community in terms of the ethnic community -- but I would like to see a shifting gradually from the ethnic community to the broader community" (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:8).

Pastor Leung envisions opportunities to break free from its Chinese-only membership to incorporate a multi-ethnic Christian congregation. He provides a number of prospective programs that will aid in his objective.

> One [program that I have] in mind, for example, is in this community where the Church is located. [G]eographically, [there are] not too many Chinese [who] live in this area. One thing I would like to do is start visiting people in this community. So in a way, it is to invite them to us. And the second thing I would like to do is to educate our people to go out to get integrated. For example, in the [Chinese-speaking] youth fellowship, we encourage them to participate on campus [and] join club[s], because that is the best way [to] learn Canadian culture and interact with Canadians. With new students, I personally encourage them to go and live room and board with Canadian families rather than liv[ing] together. All day long they would be speaking Chinese and that is the second thing I like to do more, encourage the youth to reach out to know Canadians things

(Chu interview with Leung, 1994:8).

As the Church continues to encourage the acculturation of Chinese immigrants, Pastor Leung believes that the Church inevitably will become integrated into mainstream Canadian religion. He states that:

> if we look at the German church, Ukrainian, Polish, they are all the same. When the first generation came, they were very ethnically orientated and if they don't speak the language, then good luck. You wouldn't be able to mix in with people there, the congregation there. When the second generation gr[ew] up, they sp[oke] English, and they start[ed] integrating into mainstream society. So I guess, with Chinese churches, [it] will eventually happen the same way (Chu interview Leung, 1994: 1).

Due to the growth of the second generation and an increase of inter-racial marriages, Pastor Leung thus foresees a change of membership. For him:

> a good example would be a Chinese Presbyterian Church in Toronto. They [sic] have three generations, or even four generations in their Church already. In their English congregations they will have caucasians and blacks. I remember seeing blacks there [and] different cultur[al] groups there, but the majority [is] still Chinese. [A]nd the fourth generation Chinese still go there (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:2).

Pastor Leung's vision of a multi-ethnic Church is not a vision of a sectarian.

Ethnic religious organizations that endeavour to maintain exclusiveness by rejecting the dominant culture are likely more sect-like. Sectarian descriptive traits include exclusive membership, non-cooperation with other religious groups, avoidance of society, and select evangelism. Through its schismatic history and non-affiliation with a mainstream religious denomination, the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church at first appeared to resemble a sectarian organization. Through

analysis of its programs and associations, however, the Church demonstrates a number of church-like characteristics.

In many ways, the Chinese Christian Church embraces and accepts the social surroundings in which it exists. It does not exclude its members from contact with non-Chinese persons. Several non-Chinese individuals take part in Chinese School, children's Sunday School, and English speaking fellowships. Moreover, the Church is affiliated with Canadian missionary organizations, non-Chinese religious associations, the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Centre, and performs a number of programs outside of its building.

According to Pastor Leung, the Church focuses unavoidably more on Chinese individuals because of its capacity and success in spreading the Christian message among the Chinese. He states that the Church predominantly evangelizes to the Chinese because they feel that they are more competent in working with Chinese individuals:

> I think the reason for that is more in terms of effectiveness . . . because we speak the language [and] we know how the Chinese think. So it is obviously more effective for us to evangelize [to] the Chinese (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:7).

Also, "I think I am using the best of my resources right now, and the best way or the best resource is [the] language and social skills we have" (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:8). Although the Church utilizes its best resources in working predominantly with Chinese individuals, this is not necessarily a measure of sect-like behaviour. Chinese membership is due to resource effectiveness, not premeditated

exclusiveness.

In addition, the Church offers formal discussions that help immigrants with difficulties such as taxes, child-raising, and real-estate transactions. The Church fellowships, especially the Immigrant Fellowship, provide immigrants with informal assistance and emotional support that ease their adjustment experience. Furthermore, the Church is accepting of mainstream types of religious worship found in their English speaking segment. Clearly, these programs are not characteristic of a sectarian religious group that is secluding itself from general society.

Table 5.1.

The Reasons Immigrants Attend and Remain at the Chinese Christian Church (Range 1.00 to 5.00)

MOTIVATIONAL REASONS	REASON FOR ATTENDANCE	REASON FOR REMAINING
Religious Reasons	3.77	4.50
Social Reasons	3.78	3.67
Emotional Reasons	3.21	3.54
Parental Reasons	3.12	3.56

Table 5.2.

Frequencies on the Use of Specific Chinese Christian Church Programs and Associations (n=30)

CHURCH ASSOCIATION OR PROGRAM	FREQUENCY
Church fellowships	29
Worship service	27
Sunday school	24
Family fellowship	14
Prayer meeting	12

Table 5.3.

The Importance Placed on Specific Chinese Christian Church Programs and Associations (Range 1.00 to 5.00)

CHURCH ASSOCIATION OF PROGRAM	IMPORTANCE
Friends you meet at Church	3.75
Church Fellowships	3.72
Worship service	3.07
Sunday school	2.74
Pastoral Counselling	2.38

Table 5.4.

Frequencies on Specific Functions that the Chinese Christian Church Provides in the Adaptation of Immigrants (n=29)

FUNCTIONS	YES	NO
Improve English	8	21
Learn Canadian values	15	13
Find Canadian friends	5	23
Contact with Non Chinese persons	3	25

Chapter Six
Characteristics of Chinese Christianity

Presumed initially to display church-like behaviour, the Edmonton Chinese United Church instead exhibits a number of sect-like characteristics. Similarly, the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church performs numerous church-like functions contrary to my original hypothesis that it would display sect-like behaviour. On the sect-church continuum, the two Churches seem to have converged considerably close in proximity to each other. Although the two Churches have many organizational differences, they share a large number of analogous characteristics and beliefs distinctive to Chinese Christianity.

6.1. Leadership

A church is a religious organization that embraces the practices of other religious groups, whereas a sect avoids contact with other religious organizations (Troeltsch, 1911:331). In looking specifically at the pastoral leaders of both Churches, they do not refrain from relationships outside their Church or denomination. If a sect is a religious body that claims a unique legitimacy and monopoly of the truth, then the leaders of both Churches are not sectarians.

Specifically, both Churches are rather accepting of the wide inter-denominational education and dissimilar religious backgrounds of its pastoral leaders. Within the two Churches, all seven pastoral members come from different denominational backgrounds (Alliance, Baptist, Church of Christ, Lutheran,

Mennonite, Pentecostal, and Presbyterian). Additionally, the two Churches hired leaders that had the same theological training. The previous two Senior Pastors of the Chinese Christian Church and the Chinese United Church Director of Youth received their theological education at the Alliance Seminary in Hong Kong.

The majority of the pastors and lay-leaders are overseas-born. They received more of their training and experience in Asia, thus tending to be more fluent in Chinese than in English. The qualifications for Senior Pastoral positions include theological training from a recognized Christian denomination, competent comprehension of English, and Chinese ethnicity. Seemingly, the ethnicity of the pastor is a more critical employment prerequisite than his denominational alliance.

The pastors at both Churches preach in meetings and services of other denominations that infrequently include non-Chinese engagements. In addition, both Churches invite speakers from a broad spectrum of denominations to preach in their Sunday service and fellowships. Clearly, the Churches and its leaders do not avoid contact with other religious groups. The clergy at the Edmonton Chinese Church especially demonstrate themselves to be open and flexible. Undoubtedly, Edmonton Chinese Christian Church Pastor Leung views his Church as one denomination among others that share in the commission of reaching the whole community.

6.2. Affiliation

The Edmonton Chinese Christian Church and the Edmonton Chinese United

Church sustain organizational and personal contact with each other. At least once a year, the two Churches co-operate along with additional Chinese religious organizations for Chinese evangelical rallies and performances. Occasionally in the past, guest speakers that dispense the sermon at the United Church also speak at the Chinese Christian Church. Moreover, young members of both Churches attend the Chinese Canadian Church Youth Winter Conference held each winter for the Chinese Christian organizations of Western Canada.

Aside from the personal contact between the pastoral leaders at the collective city-wide Chinese Pastoral Fellowship, a number of members maintain contact with members of the other Church. A few members of the Chinese Christian Church attend the United Church tai chi class. Numerous individuals from other Chinese Churches in Edmonton also participate in the class (Chu interview with Chan, 1995:7). In addition, several members of the United Church have children or relatives who attend Chinese Christian Church functions and vice versa.

With all of this formal and informal interaction, ethnic affinity between the two Churches may well overcome existing denominational alliances. The Edmonton Chinese United Church shares more activities and attachments with the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church (such as pastoral speakers, pastoral meetings, joint gatherings, and members) than with the larger Canadian United Church denomination.

6.3. Membership

An ethnic sect welcomes members who are capable of sharing their ethnic identity, language, and culture. The Chinese Churches, however, are comprised of individuals who are divided by a wide diversity of social and cultural differences. The divisions among them include linguistic differences, since Church members speak a number of dialects (Mandarin, Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Toy-shanese). Accompanying these difference among dialects is the discrepancy among cultures and histories of people from diverse regions of Southeast Asia. Some members are affluent entrepreneurs from Hong Kong, others are students from mainland China, and still others are Chinese refugees from Indo-Asia. These differences also include divisions among native and foreign-born, old and young, and those people from the middle class and the working class.

The Chinese have shown themselves to be particularly desirous of retaining some form of group identity. Factions have learned to accommodate one another, thereby overcoming issues of class and language. Ethnicity remains a stronger basis for religious affiliation than class and dialect. Notwithstanding the differences between members, more similarities exist among members at the Churches than with mainstream society. Their interaction with one another shows how they have put aside sub-ethnic differences in order to maintain their general ethnic identity relative to Canadian Society.

6.4. Worship

Through the fellowships, Bible study groups, Sunday school classes, and worship services, both Churches promote the worship of God and the learning of religious doctrine. The worship style and the theology of the two Churches tend to be more conservative than non-Chinese Christian organizations. Reverend Lam from the United Church, for example, admits that the theology and worship style of the Church is more conservative than the other Edmonton United Churches. This conservatism may exist because of the large number of elderly members at the Church. Furthermore, Reverend Lam believes that the conservatism may exist because of the ethnic character of the Chinese:

> I noticed that it will not be easy to change their attitude to change things. [N]ot [only] their policies, but to change their traditions. They have some so called tradition[s]. They don't like changes. It's not easy, it takes time to teach . . . . [I ask], "The time, this is 1995, it is not 1950, you mind to change a little bit?" I talk to some members they say, "nope, fifty years has always been the same. Nope, do it like we did it before" (Chu interview with Lam, 1995a:8).

The Chinese, it seems, tend to cling to traditional practice and beliefs.

Similarly, Pastor Leung of the Chinese Christian Church says "that in terms of theology, I think the Chinese in general are more conservative" (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:1). He presumes that the previous training of Chinese Christian leaders by orthodox Christian missionaries precipitate this conservativeness:

> I guess it is more related to the early teaching, when most of the Chinese church, or most of the Chinese church leaders, were trained by missionaries. [T]hey were more conservative and that is the main reason for that. We have pastors trained in North America, they are more -- I don't want to use the word liberal, but I guess their theology is more broader. [With] some issues, they to be more neutral than swing[ing] one way. But the older pastors tend to be

> more fundamental and conservative (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:3).

In essence, this interview suggested that recently trained Chinese Christian leaders are becoming more open and broad-minded.

The format and rites conducted in the two Churches during the Sunday worship service are similar. They share the same Chinese-translated Bible, sing the same hymns, infrequently hear the same speaker, and listen to comparable subject matter in the sermons.

Both the leaders and congregational members perceive the sermon as providing useful information for their daily lives. Palinkas (1989:8) concluded that the sermons "assist the congregation in providing solutions to the problems associated with adjustment and accommodation while at the same time, affirming or establishing their identity as Christians." Often the sermon addresses issues of cultural conflict by finding parallels between Chinese and Christian values. For example, often the description of the outside world or environment is hostile, immoral, violent, and chaotic. This view is consistent with both the Christian and immigrant experience, especially for those immigrants incapable of accommodating themselves to the new environment (Palinkas 1989:185). In affirmation of Palinkas's conclusions, the contents of the sermons at both Churches include talks about handling their second generational children, conflict at work, and problems with other individuals. As respondents from the Chinese United Church (3.88) and Chinese Christian Church (3.07) attest, the Sunday service is a worthwhile

association in their immigration experience.

6.5. Language Education

To some extent in the past, both Churches taught English language to its members. They both no longer provide any English language education. A large number of members from the two Churches take some form of English langauge school through other organizations and associations. Religious organizations such as the Mennonite church and Catholic Social Services provide English as a Second Langauge Programs. Among Chinese religious organizations, the Edmonton Chinese Baptist Church provides an Advanced English Writing Skills class. With the proliferation of English as a second language courses available, the Church leaders feel that the need to provide an English language school to its members is not imperative.

Instead, both Churches provide a Chinese language school. Twenty students from the Chinese United Church and two hundred from the Chinese Christian Church are enroled. Aside from meeting the needs of Chinese-speaking parents, both Churches utilize the school as an outreach opportunity. Through it, they both attempt to recruit members of the Chinese school into their congregation.

Although the Churches exhibit church-like behavior in their leadership, affiliation, and contact with non-Chinese individuals, language education in both Churches is a program that epitomizes sect-like behavior. They both terminated their English language schools. Instead, they both encourage the development of

Chinese language training.

6.6. Organizational Accommodation

Both Churches are anxious and concerned about the role they must play in preventing the members of the next generation from leaving the Church. With the growing number of second generational members, ethnic religious organizations often find themselves needing to replace and change personnel and services. Consequently, this produces conflict between old and young members for the control of the organizations activities. Younger members may depart and establish or join religious organizations where they find greater acceptance.

For instance, those who were active in the Christian religious organizations in the 1940s and the 1950s when they were children and young people largely dropped out during the 1960s when the influx of overseas born Chinese began to dominate their organizations. In all likelihood, the present group of Canadian born youth within the Churches will follow this path in the next decade or two unless both Churches deliberately face up to this problem and take steps to remedy it. The leaders of both Churches realize that the needs of the second generation English speaking sector of the congregation must be considered.

Furthermore, with the possibility of a decline in overseas immigration, the second and third generation Chinese in the near future may begin to outnumber overseas born members in the Churches. Seeing the prospect of extinction, the leadership within the two Churches will concede to replacing Chinese with English

for the majority of functions. As mentioned in the previous two chapters, both Churches perceive the importance of providing English language programs and associations. Both Reverend Lam of the Chinese United Church and Pastor Leung of the Chinese Christian Church foresee a growing number of non-Chinese and non-Chinese speaking members. Both anticipate a multi-ethnic religious organization in the future that would welcome all individuals regardless of colour, race, or ethnicity.

6.7. Festivals

A sect is defined as an organization that does not readily accept mainstream culture. Instead, it often experiences tension with society by, for instance, being a bastion of ethnic solidarity. The celebration of traditional festivals and rites is a good indicator of ethnic preservation. A number of congregational members still celebrate certain traditional Chinese rites and holidays. These celebrations commemorate events unique to Chinese history. Many participate in community festivals such as the Dragon Boat Festival, a commemoration of the Great Chinese poet Qu Yuan of the Kingdom of Chu, and the mid-autumn festival in memory of a revolt against the Mongol empire. The celebration of these holidays, however, go on predominantly outside the Churches on an individual basis.

The only traditional Chinese celebration held occasionally by the two Churches is Chinese New Year. During this holiday, Chinese games, folk music, dancing, and other forms of entertainment persist. Although the Churches do not

formally encourage the commemoration of tradition holidays, they do not actively oppose individual participation.

Instead, the Churches promote strongly the celebration of Christian holidays. Both Churches have special Christmas and Easter services. These special services often consist of musical and choral performances. An annual Christmas meal for the entire congregation to enjoy and share is common for both Churches. Moreover, both Churches initiate outreach activities during this time.

Although the Churches occasionally promote the celebration of Chinese holidays, they concentrate more on the celebration of Christian holidays. The Churches join with the majority of Canadians in commemorating Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving. Such activity does not conform to sect-like behaviour.

6.8. Summary

The two Churches not only share a number of sect-like characteristics, but also they share a number of church-like characteristics. They both provide ethnic preservation programs as well as activities that welcome contact with non-Chinese and non-Chinese speaking Christian individuals and groups. No necessary contradiction exists, therefore, between the acceptance of Christianity and the maintenance of a Chinese cultural identity.

For both Churches, their organizational goal is to contribute to the understanding and renewal of Chinese culture in the light of Christian scripture. They seek to fulfil that goal by promoting the development of a character and

vitality that will be both authentically Christian and genuinely Chinese. This dual membership of being both Christian and Chinese enhances the unique identity and organizational goals of the two Churches. Such knowledge of the characteristics of Chinese Christianity enables a better understanding of its categorization based on the church-sect typology.

Chapter Seven
Categorization of Chinese Christianity

Chinese Christian organizations are creating their own unique categorical niche within the church-sect typology. The two Chinese Churches in this study exemplify both church-like and sect-like characteristics and behaviours. Canadian Chinese Christian associations weathered a transformation from a religious organization that served to assimilate its members in the earlier years to an organization that served to preserve its ethnicity during the anti-immigration period. Now, the Chinese Churches are performing both roles. They service both the ethnic maintenance and societal adaptive needs of Chinese immigrants.

Chinese Christian organizations provide support in conserving key features of traditional Chinese culture. The two Churches celebrate Chinese traditional holidays, encourage ethnic performing arts, teach tai chi classes, and offer Chinese language schools. The Chinese Churches serve inadvertently as centres of ethnic pride. Although they endeavour to preserve their ethnic culture, the Churches have no inhibitions about working within the larger society. Both churches sustain communication with a diverse number of non-Chinese organizations. Through the fellowships and informal personal contacts, immigrants found jobs, learned Canadian values, and their children eased into schools.

Both Churches demonstrated their seemingly contradictory roles as a stronghold of traditional culture and as an instrument of immigrant adaptation. Clearly, Chinese immigrants have built flexible religious institutions designed to

preserve the old culture and ease the process of adjustment into Canada. Chinese religious organizations are thus difficult to classify on the church-sect continuum.

7.1. Ramifications on Church-Sect Theory

The usefulness of any classification scheme is its ability to provide research questions and hypotheses that lead to an accurate theoretical understanding of the way the world works. Developments within church-sect theory are proceeding towards the use of an unidimensional measure on a single continuum to categorize religious organizations. Scholars have a choice of attributes, however, between societal tension and the mode of membership, upon which to structure a scale of differentiation (Dawson, 1992:23). This study argues that the relative tension between religious groups and the rest of society as theorized by Stark and Bainbridge provides a finer categorizing attribute than the mode of membership that Weber originally developed.

7.1.1. Mode of Membership

For Weber, the mode of membership was the most significant characteristic distinguishing church and sect. Weber's original stress on the mode of membership, the universalistic-particularistic continuum, provided a simple measure of classifying religious groups. Sects are particularistic about membership; churches are universalistic.

This measure, however, is inappropriate for ethnic churches. As shown

through this study, the two Chinese Churches maintained more or less an exclusive, particularistic membership, but displayed a variety of church-like programs and traits. If this study utilized the mode of membership as the measuring attribute, the two Churches would be classified incorrectly as strong sectarian movements. The mode of membership does not provide an adequate distinguishing attribute to classify a wide range of religious groups including ethnic organizations. Instead, tension with the rest of society may be a more appropriate attribute.

7.1.2. Tension

As shown through this study, tension between religious groups and mainstream society is an appropriate attribute to classify ethnic groups. The tension experienced by the two Churches as measured by their attitude towards mainstream society enabled a clear understanding of their type of religious organization. At first glance, the Edmonton Chinese United Church appeared like a church whereas the Edmonton Chinese Christian Church seemed like a sect. After in-depth scrutiny, the two Churches shared almost identical services, programs, and character. Without concentrating on the programs and associations the ethnic religious bodies provided for immigrants, the classification of these groups would likely be inaccurate.

A clearer understanding of tension, however, is necessary in relation to ethnic religious organizations. The use of tension as the distinguishing church-sect characteristic requires recognition of diverse types of tension. According to Stark

and Bainbridge (1985:48), tension with the surrounding society is the most appropriate attribute for differentiating religious groups. The greater the tension experienced by a religious group to mainstream culture, the more the group is sectarian. Tension or deviance is the departure from the norms of a culture in such a way as to incur the imposition of extraordinary costs from those who maintain culture (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985:24). Stark and Bainbridge claim that one can easily measure tension with reference to "subcultural deviance." Subcultural deviance consists of three integrated, but conceptually distinguishable elements: "difference, antagonism, and separation" (Stark and Bainbridge, 1985:23-24). What, however, is the cause of the difference, antagonism, and separation?

Conceivably, tension in society divides into categories such as doctrinal, economic, or ethnic tension. Although both organizations in this study display church-like characteristics, they both likely experience tension from society due to their ethnicity. Tension experienced by Chinese Churches with mainstream society is due predominantly to the preservation of their Chinese identity.

The maintenance of exclusively Chinese members should not be viewed as a regression into ethnocentrism or sectarianism, but simply the propagation of a culturally driven religious style. Although the Churches are Chinese in terms of members and participants, this fact may indicate a confusion of ethnic and sectarian religious styles. Outsiders may see the formality, conservativeness, and selectiveness of Chinese Christianity as sectarian, regardless of the organizations or their members' beliefs. Mainstream society may be unaware and even naive about the

practices and doctrines that Chinese religious organizations hold.

In addition, apprehension within mainstream society about accepting ethnic organizations perhaps may be the result of the ethnic status system in Western society:

> Canada's public image as a predominantly Christian yet multicultural society provides a nurturant environment for the planting of ethnically-based church congregations by immigrant Southeast Asians, to the dismay of some church authorities of more "orthodox" western background. Although criticisms and judgments of the Christianity practised by the Asians are often phrased in theological terms, they conceal a more fundamental set of status assumptions and distinctions, based on the ethnic ranking system of secular society. Church superiors can thus "pull rank" by withholding full recognition or accreditation of ethnic pastors and their congregations, or by constantly screening and pressing them to submit to their demands (Nagata 1986:40).

Although the Chinese Churches may be accommodated well to the secular world, tension still exists between them and societal members. This tension is a result of the Church members' not their religious or doctrinal practices. The interviewed Church leaders believe that societal tension between themselves and other mainstream religious organizations is partly the effect of ethnic tension. As Pastor Leung states, acceptance of Chinese Christianity in Canada "might take a longer time then the so called European churches because of race and skin colour" (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:1). The use of tension, therefore, as the attribute that best serves as a basis of comparing religious groups must factor in the implications of ethnicity.

7.1.3. Sect

In an attempt to define a sect, a few previous studies examined groups consisting of individuals with dual-membership. In one case study of a Hebrew Christian group, Rachael Kohn (1983) notices how it exhibits sectarian characteristics without practising exclusive membership. She argues that the accepted definitions of sect must be adjusted to allow for dual-membership in instances when the practice enhances rather than compromises the unique identity and religious goals of the sect.

To a degree, this dual-membership concept also is appropriate for Chinese Christians. In many regards, Christianity is incompatible with Chinese forms of worship, which many Chinese Christians still practice. Ideologically, Christianity is at odds with traditional Chinese religious beliefs, which are a mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and folk religion. The average Chinese is thus a religious eclectic. Christianity represents essentially collective salvation with the maintenance of an intimate relationship between believers and the religious organizations. Buddhism espouses self-attained salvation and its weak organization models the Chinese father/son lineage relationships. Folk religious culture practices ancestor worship and Confucian ethics, typically does not offer salvation, and thus has no organization to which believers relate.

I infer that this dual-membership in Chinese congregations and Western denominations may enhance well the special identity and goals of Chinese religious organizations. Being both Chinese and Christian, members assert their identity in

order to spread the Chinese Christian message. I reinforce Kohn's contention that accepted definitions of a sect must be modified to account for dual-membership in instances when the practice enhances rather than compromises the unique identity and religious goals of the organization.

7.2. An Inclusive Typology

Conceivably, a traditional Chinese ethnic identity may exist within a modern Christian religious identity in the context of Canadian mainstream society. Canada encourages the recognition and acceptance of the cultural roots and ethnicity of others. With the growing acceptance of different ethnic identities through multiculturalism in Canada, general society may eventually accept ethnic religious organizations as mainstream Christian associations. More and more, non-Chinese individuals are attending Chinese religious organizations (Chu interview with Leung, 1994:2). In addition, Chinese Christian organizations are growing in number at a consistent rate (Mak, C., 1993:15). Chinese institutions may thus be able to provide programs that perpetuate both Chinese and Canadian identities without intolerance because of the general Canadian respect for multiculturalism. Already, Chinese religious organizations seem to favour this strategy.

The Church leaders realize that often members of the general society only perceive Chinese Churches as an ethnic community that distances itself from Canadian society. They desire to close this distance in order to become more legitimate in the eyes of the general population. Kenneth Chan asserts that "we

don't want to become separatists in the Christian sense," separate from "mainstream Canadian society" (Chu interview with Chan, 1995:10). Likewise, Pastor Leung states that "it is very appropriate for the Church to evaluate its focus and priorit[ies] every now and then to make sure its course stays culturally relevant" (Leung, 1993:54). As Chadwin Mak, director of the Chinese Coordination Centre Church on World Evangelism Canada, states on behalf of all Chinese Canadian religious organizations:

> It is a well-known fact that the evangelical churches in Canada continued to shrink but the Chinese churches had continued to grow. Chinese Christians should therefore forsake the attitude of immigrants and learn to involve and contribute in society. As we put our faith into practice, we will become "salt" and "light" among different ethnic groups. Moreover, as evangelical Chinese churches, we should also have a deeper influence in our society and country (Mak, 1993:16).

As part of a diverse heterogeneous community, Chinese religious organizations continue to strive for legitimacy in this pluralistic community.

If Canadian society does accept ethnic religious organizations that display both sect and church-like behaviours as mainstream Christian organizations, a new categorization scheme other than tension may become necessary. Future research dealing with this issue may become essential to the development and continuation of the church and sect typology.

7.3. Future Research

With the growing influence of ethnic organizations and the debate about

multiculturalism in Canada today, it is important to discover the role that ethnic groups play in Canadian culture. Ethnic religious organizations, like those created by the Chinese, continue to carve their own place in society. More information, however, would add and clarify issues dealing with ethnic organizations. The clarification of the role played by Chinese ethnic churches in immigrant's life may impact government social policy, multicultural funding, and the performance of ethnic organizations.

Specifically, researchers need to question and advance the currently accepted manner of categorizing religious groups according to the reformulated church-sect typology of Stark and Bainbridge. Further investigations should attempt to build on this study in order to discover the usefulness of tension as an attribute to classify religious organizations. Similar studies with other ethnic religious organizations would help clarify some limitations of this study. In particular, other studies could attempt to gauge what mainstream society thinks of specific ethnic organizations.

In addition, future studies on subsequent generations within Chinese and ethnic religious organizations would address the question of organizational accommodation. A longitudinal approach would help explain whether succeeding generations leave, where they go, why they leave, and what characteristics describe those who stay in ethnic religious associations.

Notes

1. Since the majority of Weber's work were translated and published posthumous, these are the approximate dates of his writings on church and sect.

2. Bibby, 1987:114 who quoted John Webster Grant in the United Church Observer, June 1985:28.

3. Parliamentary address, October 8, 1971.

4. Statistics Canada, 1991. This figure includes 586,645 individuals of single Chinese origin and 32,515 individuals of multiple origin.

5. The quotes from the interviews contain a number of words in square brackets in order to facilitate easier reading. These adjustments are necessary because English is the second langauge of the interviewees.

6. A traditional way that the Chinese organize themselves internally is through clan associations. The members of such associations can trace their descent to one or several ancestors through the paternal line. They adhere to a clan genealogy and use legends, myths, stories, and historical accounts to determine the identity of their ancestors (Hoe, 1989:19). These clan associations existed only for large family clans.

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
The Classification and Characteristics of Chinese Christianity

This questionnaire is part of a research project performed by Albert Chu from the department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. He is very interested in the assistance this church has offered you since your immigration to Canada. Not very much is known about the role that North American Chinese churches play in the integration of immigrants. Your information will be very important in helping him understand these issues. He would appreciate it if you would help his research by answering these questions. The church leaders are aware of and support this questionnaire.

You are not required to answer all the questions, and you can skip questions that you do not like. Try to answer all the questions that you can. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be honest and choose answers that best describe you.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. No one will see these answers except the researcher, and you will never be identified in any way.

Thank you very much for helping me.

加拿大亞省大學
華人基督教的分類與特徵

此問卷乃屈永善先生於亞省大學社會學之部份研究調查。屈先生對教會爲你初移民加國時所提供的服務甚感興趣，鑑於北美華人教會在這方面所扮演之角色所知不多，你所提供的資料，將會是莫大的幫助。屈先生非常感激你爲協助此研究而回答以下一些問題，教會的長執也曉得及支持此問卷。

你可以遺漏一些你不喜歡回答的問題，但希望你能儘量作答，此問卷是沒有「對」或「錯」的答案，請誠實地回答及選擇最適切你的答案。

請勿寫上你的名字於問卷上，除研究者外，沒有人能閱讀此問卷。

多謝你的協助！

INSTRUCTIONS 指示 :

MARK OR CHECK [X] THE BOX NEXT TO YOUR ANSWER. 請在你所選擇的答案旁邊填上(X)。

SECTION ONE 第一段

1. [ ] Male 男 [ ] Female 女
2. How old are you? 年齡 _____
3. Where were you born? (include country) 出生地點 _____
4. What citizenship do you hold? 國籍 _____
5. When did you arrive into Canada? (please be as specific as possible) 何時抵加國?(請儘量詳細)

   _____

   When did you come to Edmonton? (please be as specific as possible) 何時抵愛蒙頓市?(請儘量詳細)

   _____
6. What is the highest level of education you have obtained? 最高學歷

   [ ] Elementary 小學
   [ ] Junior High School 初中
   [ ] High School 高中
   [ ] University or College 大專
   [ ] University Graduate studies 大學研究院
7. Are you currently employed? 你現在有否工作?

   [ ] Yes 有 [ ] No 沒有
8. What is your present occupation? 你現在的職業爲何? _____
9. Wat is your household monthly income before taxes? 每月收入連稅若干? $ _____

SECTION TWO 第二段

10. Thinking back to when you were still in your homeland, what was your interpretation of "Christianity?"
回想你來加拿大前，你對「基督教」有何定義?

_____

_____

11. Back in your homeland, what type of people called themselves "Christians?"
在你國(你以前所住的地方)，那一類人稱自己爲「基督徒」?

_____

_____

12. On average, how many times did you attend a religious event in your homeland each month? (assume 4 weeks per month)
移民加國前，每月平均參加宗教活動多少次?(以每月爲四週計算)

[ ] never 從未參加
[ ] once 一次
[ ] twice 兩次
[ ] three times 三次
[ ] once every week 每週一次
[ ] more than four times a month 每月超過四次以上

13. If you went to religious meetings in your homeland, what denomination was it? 來加前所屬的宗派。

a. Did not go to meetings 沒有參加 [ ]
b. Presbyterian 長老會 [ ]
c. Baptist 浸信會 [ ]
d. Alliance 宣道會 [ ]
e. Evangelical Free 播道會 [ ]
f. Other Christian groups 其他基督教團體 [ ] please specify 請註明 _____
g. Buddhist 佛教 [ ]

14. On average, how many times do you attend a church event in Edmonton each month? (assume 4 weeks in a month)
在愛蒙頓市，每月平均參加教會聚會多少次?（以每月爲四週計算）

[ ] never 從未參加
[ ] once 一次
[ ] twice 兩次
[ ] three times 三次
[ ] once every week 每週一次
[ ] more than four times a month 每月超過四次以上

People attend churches for different reasons. Think back to when you first started coming to this church. How important were each of the following reasons for DECIDING TO FIRST ATTEND THIS CHURCH?
每人爲不同的原因參加教會，以下的原因對你決定第一次參加這教會有多重要?

	not very important 不重要				very important 很重要
15. To worship God and learn religious teaching. 敬拜神和學習其教導	1	2	3	4	5
16. To encourage your children's religiosity. 鼓勵兒女的宗教信仰	1	2	3	4	5
17. To see and make new friends. 約見朋友和結交新朋友	1	2	3	4	5
18. To feel better about yourself. 令自己覺得好些	1	2	3	4	5

People continue to attend church for different reasons. Now think about the reasons you continue to attend this church. How important are each of the following reasons for you DECIDING TO STAY AT THIS CHURCH?
每人爲不同的原因繼續參加教會，以下的原因對你繼續留在這教會有多重要?

	not very important 不重要				very important 很重要
19. To worship God and learn religious teaching. 敬拜神和學習其教導	1	2	3	4	5
20. To encourage your children's religiosity. 鼓勵兒女的宗教信仰	1	2	3	4	5
21. To see and make new friends. 約見朋友和結交新朋友	1	2	3	4	5
22. To feel better about yourself. 令自己覺得好些	1	2	3	4	5

23. Which of the following church associations and programs have you used within the past year? Please check [X] all that apply. 過去的日子，你曾參加過以下那一項的教會聚會？ 請[X]所有你曾參加過的。

[ ] Fellowships 團契
[ ] Family fellowship meeting 家庭團契聚會
[ ] Worship service 主日崇拜
[ ] Sunday school 主日學
[ ] Prayer meeting 祈禱會
[ ] Pastoral counselling 牧牧輔導
[ ] Job Placement 找尋工作服務
[ ] Other please specify 其他（請註明）_____
[ ] Other please specify 其他（請註明）_____
[ ] Other please specify 其他（請註明）_____

Some people find that church activities help them adapt or adjust to life in Canada. For each of the following, please indicate how IMPORTANT they are in helping you adapt to life in Canada.
有些人覺得教會活動幫助他們投入適應加拿大的生活，以下的項目對幫助你適應加拿大生活有多重要。

		not very important 不重要				very important 很重要
24. Worship service	主日崇拜	1	2	3	4	5
25. Fellowship groups	團契小組	1	2	3	4	5
26. Sunday school	主日學	1	2	3	4	5
27. Pastoral counselling	牧牧輔導	1	2	3	4	5
28. Job placement programs	找尋工作服務	1	2	3	4	5
29. Friends you met in church	教會所識的朋友	1	2	3	4	5

30. Did this church help you with the following? Please answer yes or no.
這間教會曾否在以下方面協助你? 請回答有或沒有。

a.	Improving your English	令你的英文有進步	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有
b.	Learning Canadian values	認識加拿大價值觀	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有
c.	Finding English-speaking friends	幫助結識講英語的朋友	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有
d.	Contact with non-Chinese persons	多接觸非中國人	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有

31. Did this church help you with the following? Please answer yes or no.
這間教會曾否在以下方面協助你? 請回答有或沒有。

a.	Maintaining contact with the Chinese community	與華人社團保持接觸	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有
b.	Finding Chinese friends	幫助認識中國人朋友	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有
c.	Preserving your Chinese identity	保存你中國人的身份	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有
d.	Protecting yourself from Canadian society	防護你免被加拿大社會所侵	[ ] Yes 有	[ ] No 沒有

32. When you first started coming to this church, did you expect to receive some help or assistance with your adaptation to Canada? 當你初到這教會時，曾否期望這教會幫助你投入適應加拿大?

Yes 有 [ ] No 沒有 [ ] If no, skip to question 33 如果沒有，請跳至第33題。

If yes, what help or assistance did you EXPECT OR WANT FROM THIS CHURCH? 如果有，你曾期望那方面的協助?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

33. How would you rate the importance of this church in helping you adapt to Canada.
教會對幫助你投入適應加拿大佔多重要。

not very important 不重要				very important 很重要
1	2	3	4	5

34. Do Non-Chinese persons attend this church? 有沒有非華裔人仕參加這教會?

[ ] Yes 有 [ ] No 沒有

If no, why not? 如果沒有，何解? _____

_____

35. Not including your attendance at this church, do you participate in any other RELIGIOUS meetings?
除了參與這教會外，你還有否參加其他的宗教活動?

Yes 有[ ] No 沒有[ ] If no, skip to question 36 如果沒有，請跳至第36題。

If yes, where? 如果有，在何處? _____

If yes, how often do you participate monthly? 如果有，每個月參與的次數?

[ ] once 一次
[ ] twice 兩次
[ ] three times 三次
[ ] once every week 每週一次
[ ] more than four times a month 每月超過四次以上

36. Do you participate in other voluntary Chinese associations (clans, political groups, entertainment clubs, etc.)
你有否參與其他華人的服務社團（宗鄉會，政治團體，俱樂部等)?

Yes 有[ ] No 沒有 [ ] If no, skip to question 37 如果沒有，請跳至第37題。

If yes, which ones? 如果有，是那一個? _____

If yes, how often do you participate monthly? 如果有，每個月參與的次數?

[ ] once 一次
[ ] twice 兩次
[ ] three times 三次
[ ] once every week 每週一次
[ ] more than four times a month 每月超過四次以上

37. How would you rate the importance of these voluntary Chinese associations (clans, political groups, entertainment clubs, etc.) in helping you adapt to Canada.
這些華人服務社團(宗鄉會，政治團體，俱樂部等)對幫助你投入適應加拿大佔多重要。

not very important 不重要				very important 很重要
1	2	3	4	5

38. We are also interested in learning how you are getting along with the English language. 有關你英語方面的資料。

How well did you UNDERSTAND English when you first came to Canada? 初到加國時，你懂得多少英文?

not very well 不太懂得				very well 很懂得
1	2	3	4	5

39. How well do you UNDERSTAND English now? 現在你懂得多少英文?

not very well 不太懂得				very well 很懂得
1	2	3	4	5

40. What organizations or agencies do you think were most useful in your learning of English?
你認爲那一個機構或代理處最有助於你學習英文?

---

41. Do you agree with this statement: I am happy that I am in Canada. 你是否同意，你很開心你在加拿大?

[ ] Strongly Agree 極之同意 [ ] Agree 同意 [ ] Disagree 不同意 [ ] Strongly Disagree 極之不同意

Thank you very much for your cooperation.
Please do not sign your name on this questionnaire.
多謝你的合作
請勿在此問卷寫上名字

Appendix B

INTERVIEW RELEASE FORM

By signing this form, I grant permission to Mr. Albert Y.S. Chu to use this interview in his teaching, publications, or other educational activities, subject only to whatever restrictions I may have specified on the tape itself. I assure him that whatever I have told him is true, as best as I know. I also realize that I can withdraw permission at any time.

[please sign one of the following options, below]

OPTION ONE

Mr. Chu will guarantee my confidentiality and anonymity as best he can. He shall not use my name or other easily identifiable information, but instead shall use a pseudonym.

Name of interviewee [please print] _____

Written signature of interviewee [please sign] _____
Date of interview _____ Date of signature _____

Written name of interviewer [please sign] _____
Date of Interview _____ Date of signature _____

OPTION TWO

Mr. Chu may use my real name if he so chooses.

Name of interviewee [please print] _____

Written signature of interviewee [please sign] _____
Date of interview _____ Date of signature _____

Written name of interviewer [please sign] _____
Date of Interview _____ Date of signature _____